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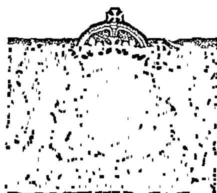
PALLAVA ARCHITECTURE

Part III.

(*The Later or Rājasimha Period.*)

BY

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PALLAVA ARCHITECTURE.

PART III.

CHAPTER I.

The Later or Rājasimha Period.

(Cir 674 to 800 A. D.)

WE have now arrived at that period in the history of Pallava Architecture when the Pallavas gave up excavating their religious monuments out of the natural rock and started to build them of stone, brick and plaster. This change seems to have occurred as already related in Part I, about the time of Rājasimha, (Narasimhavarman II), who was an ardent devotee of Siva and seems to have spent most of his time in erecting Siva temples and bestowing gifts upon the Brāhmans. He thus introduced a new style of Pallava architecture which we have named the style of Rājasimha, so as to distinguish it from the earlier rock-cut styles of Mahēndra and Māmalla described in Parts I and II of this work.

The temples of this later period are built of stone with sometimes a brick and plaster superstructure. On plan, the shrine chamber is a small square cella surrounded by a circumambulatory passage and faces the east. All Rājasimha temples are dedicated to Siva, presumably in the form of Sōmaskanda, since they all possess fluted black stone *lingas* and have the Sōmaskanda panel carved on the back wall of the shrine (*vide* Part II, plate XVI).

Externally, a lofty stepped tower or *vimāna*, rising in tiers which diminish in size as they approach the summit, is built over the central shrine, in front of which is a small porch. Built up against the exterior walls of the central shrine, are usually three or more small attendant shrines each containing a fluted linga. A very characteristic feature of the temples of this period, is the style of the bases of the pilasters at the angles of the building which are decorated with big conventional lions rampant executed in stucco.

Rājasimha built the Shore Temple at the Seven Pagodas, the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeeveram, and the old Siva temple at Panamalai in the South Arcot District. There are also two small ruined Siva temples at the Seven Pagodas which may be assigned to this period.

We will take the Shore Temple first, because in all probability, Rājasimha started this work before he built the central shrine of the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeeveram, as the latter seems to be mainly a development of the former.

Shore Temple.—This old Siva temple is built on the shore within a few feet of the sea at Māmallapuram, the ancient seaport of the Pallavas founded by Māmalla in the 7th century A. D.; and now popularly known as the Seven Pagodas. From its present position, it would seem that the sea has greatly encroached since the 8th century, as it is unlikely that the Pallavas would have built this temple so close to the sea, as during the monsoon heavy seas break right into the temple and the Archæological Department has had to construct a massive break-water all round the basement of the building to protect its foundations from being washed away. When the temple was first discovered there were no signs of the large unfinished courtyard now to be seen on the west side of the building (Plate I(*a*)). This was completely hidden by centuries of drift sand 8 feet deep. It is possible that there was also a small enclosure on the east side but all that now remains is the picturesque *dipdān* or lamp pillar still standing on an isolated rock in the sea (Plate I(c)). The temples at Sāluvankuppam 3 miles to the north of Māmallapuram, and the ruined temple known as Mukunda Nāyanār at the latter place, were found buried in sand over 12 feet deep. It seems that this part of the coast was visited by a mighty tidal wave that destroyed Māmallapuram and the neighbouring suburb of Sāluvankuppam, just as the seaport of Masulipatam on the same coast was wiped out by an inundation of the sea in 1864.

On plan, in section, and in design, the Shore Temple is merely a structural development of the monolithic Siva temple known as Dharmarāja's *ratha* at Māmallapuram described and illustrated in Part II. Being a structural building, it is naturally of more elegant proportion than Dharmarāja's temple, resembling in outline the picturesque pyramidal wooden temples of the Himalayas, and there is not the slightest doubt that both temples are stone models of wooden buildings of that type. The obvious wooden origin of Dharmarāja's temple has been fully dealt with in Part II, so there is no need to repeat this information here. It will suffice to mention that in the earlier rock-cut monuments, such wooden features as beam heads, rafters, purlins, barge-boards etc., were reproduced in stone direct, without any modification whatever, while in the later structural buildings these features become less apparent and in course of time disappear altogether, their place being taken by a lavish display of stucco ornament and mythological figures both human and animal, which cover the exterior of the building from top to bottom.

On plan, the central shrine faces the east and consists of a cella 12 feet square, and 11 feet in height up to the false roof or ceiling now destroyed. The latter consisted of stone slabs supported by teakwood joists. Above was a hollow chamber in the roof and in order to explore this, treasure-seekers demolished the ceiling below. The socket holes for the wooden joists are shown in the section of the temple illustrated in Plate II. Cut in the centre of the back wall and facing the east, is a bas-relief panel representing the

Sōmaskanda group, similar in style to the one illustrated in Plate XVI(c) of Part II. Two copies of the same tableau also appear in the porch, making three in all in this shrine. The walls of the cella were covered with plaster and the details of the bas-relief panels were picked out in the same material As a rule, the interior of the cella of a Hindu temple is free from all ornament. It is only in Pallava temples dedicated to Siva in the form of Sōmaskanda where this very unusual feature is found. Another uncommon feature of the temples of the Rājasimha period is the style of the *lingas* enshrined within them. Instead of a plain cylindrical shaft carved out of the local granite, they are carved out of black basalt, specially imported from a distance for the purpose. The shaft is cut into eight or sixteen vertical facets which are slightly fluted and terminate in the crown of the *linga* which is highly polished (Plate I(*d*)). The *linga* now in the Shore Temple was discovered buried in the sand outside the shrine where it had been cast out and broken. Originally, it must have been about 6 feet in height. About 1 foot of the lower portion is buried in a socket hole cut in the floor. A carved round *yoni* stone with a hole in the centre was then slipped over the head of the *linga* and rested on the floor and helped to keep the *linga* in position. The *yoni* stone always has a lip or spout on one side to carry off the holy water poured over the *linga*, and this spout always faces the north (*vide* Plate XVIII (*b*) in Part II) So far as I am aware, the reason for this has never been explained. The *Silpa-Sāstras* of course, require that this method should always be followed in designing Siva temples. But the custom existed long before the *Silpa-Sāstras* were compiled. Perhaps the reason is, that, the north, and the Himalayas in particular, being regarded as the abode of Siva and his consort, it was considered appropriate that the holy water should flow in that direction. Around the central shrine is an open circumambulatory passage, and at the back facing the west, a small attendant Siva temple built in the same style as the main building. In the narrow space between these two Siva temples, is a third shrine containing a large decayed stone image of Vishṇu in a recumbent position and representing that deity in the form of Anantasayana. Originally this image was about 10 feet in length, faced the north and was modelled in stucco. The position of this shrine on plan, (Plate II) indicates that it was erected after the two Siva temples were built, and therefore, represents a later addition. When first discovered, the smaller Siva temple was without an image, but a square socket hole cut in the floor of the cella shows that it once possessed one. Whilst clearing the drift sand around the base of this monument I found a carved head of Siva like the one illustrated in Plate XVI(*a*) of Part II, and like the latter, the horned headdress is broken. The base of the image is provided with a tenon, and in all probability, it originally stood in this temple so it has been replaced within this shrine. The stepped tower over the central shrine is divided into three main storeys like Dharmarāja's *ratha* and is crowned with the usual umbrella-shaped ornament surmounted by a lofty black stone *kalasam* or urn-finial. The cornices of the storeys are decorated with the dormer-window moulding similar to that found

in the monuments of the Māmalla period. But the corners of the cornices are decorated with finials of the same pattern as the one on the summit of the building, and the angles of the terrace with little figures of dwarfs, those on the uppermost terrace being represented blowing conch-shells (Plate II). The finials evidently represent ornamental water-vessels like the one that usually appears in the Sōmaskanda group (*vide* Plate XVI(c) of Part II). The pointed end represents an inverted cup which acts as a cover for the vessel. The finial on the summit of the temple is carved out of polished black stone like the *linga* immediately below it in the sanctum, and like the latter, is slightly ribbed, so as to form sixteen sides. So it seems probable, that vessels of this type were used for pouring water over the *linga*.

Prior to the Rājasimha period, representations of Gaṇēsa and Kārttikēya or Skanda, are rare in Pallava iconography, but in the Rājasimha temples both deities are represented, Gaṇēsa frequently, and Skanda occasionally, as a child seated between his parents in the Sōmaskanda group. The exterior walls of the Shore Temple were originally covered with bas-relief panels and figures similar to those decorating the Pallava temples at Conjeeveram. The carvings were first executed in stone and finished in plaster. Most of the latter has now decayed and fallen, but a little of this work still remains on the north wall of the central shrine to show what it was like. When complete, the Shore Temple must have appeared very similar in style to the central shrine of the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeeveram. The double enclosure in front of the western side was left unfinished. When the sand was removed some important inscriptions came to light. Two Tamil records of the Chōla dynasty, are incised on the north and south sides of the plinth of the central shrine and a Pallava-Grantha inscription consisting of a single line of Sanskrit verse was found engraved on the flat mouldings running round the two square masonry flag-staff pedestals standing in the outer enclosure on the western side of the temple, and shown in the foreground of the photograph reproduced in Plate I(*a*). The Tamil records are published in *South Indian Inscriptions* (Vol. I, pp. 63 to 69) and refer to three different temples, *viz.*, the Jalasayana *alias* Kshatriyasimhapallavēsvara, the Palligondaruliyadēva, and Rājasimhapallavēsvara. The central shrine containing the huge *linga* washed by the sea is evidently the Jalasayana temple. The little apartment at the back of the latter containing the sleeping figure (palligoṇḍān) of Vishṇu, the Palligondaruliyadēva, and the Siva temple facing the west, containing a broken head of Siva in place of a *linga*, must be the shrine referred to as the Rājasimhapallavēsvara.

The Pallava-Grantha record is somewhat damaged and consequently, the Sanskrit verses have not been made out completely. They contain however, a eulogy of a Pallava king whose surnames and attributes are identical with those of Rājasimha, the builder of the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeeveram. We know that this king was the son of Paramēsvaravarman I and bore the surname Kshatriyasimha, which together with his proper name Rājasimha, must have been the origin of the names of Kshatriyasimhapallavēsvara and

Rājasimhapallavēsvara, given to the two Siva temples mentioned in the Tamil records. Consequently, we may feel quite certain that the Shore Temple was built during the reign of Rājasimha, and perhaps, received the name of Jalasayana in Chōla times.

The proper entrance to this temple is by a regular doorway in the centre of the east side of the great screen or enclosure wall forming the open passage around the central shrine. In front of this doorway facing the east, a flight of unfinished steps leads down to the lamp pillar and the sea. The lofty doorway is flanked by two four-armed doorkeepers, and surmounted by a higher and larger domical cornice than that which crowns the screen wall. On entering this doorway from the seaward, the entrance to the central shrine lies *immediately opposite, at the top of* a narrow flight of steps between the usual parapets. Two conventional lions are carved on the walls on each side of the entrance porch, with an elephant's head between them. The ground floor has a portico in front and a vestibule or ante-chamber through which is the only approach to the shrine-cell containing the *linga* (Plate II).

The great screen wall is massively built, and has a handsome projecting cornice with a coping of a continuous row of the usual cell-ornament. The *inner face of the wall is divided into three rows of small square panels, each* containing bas-relief sculptures, reminding one of the sculptured walls or railings around a Buddhist procession path. Here, the space between the screen wall and the temple is very limited for the purpose of *pradakshinam*, or circumambulation, and moreover a cross wall has been built across it on the west side (Plate II).

On plan, it looks as though, originally, the screen wall was designed to surround the central shrine completely, as in the *Kailāsanātha temple at Con*jeeveram. But on the west side the wall was stopped, and a smaller Siva shrine was built, a miniature copy of the central one, facing the west and entirely outside the walled enclosure. This smaller temple has a small portico in front surmounted by the usual domical cell-ornament and crowned by a stone image of the sacred bull Nandi. The sanctum is about 7 feet square and contains a Sōmaskanda bas-relief panel on the back wall, and two figures of doorkeepers of the *usual type face one another in the* entrance portico. The pyramidal roof is a miniature copy of the one surmounting the central temple, including the urn-final on its summit.

It is evident from the plan (Plate II), that the little oblong cell containing the Vishnu image built up against the back wall of the smaller Siva temple, is a later addition, as it does not form an integral part of either of the buildings on which it abuts. The socket-holes cut in the upper portion of the walls, *show that this Vishnu shrine once* had a false roof or ceiling composed of stone slabs supported by wooden joists. The prostrate image of Vishnu seems originally, to have been an inferior copy of the fine image of the same deity in the Mahishāsura Mandapa, illustrated in Plate XXV(a) of Part II.

Most of the sculptures on the temples and screen wall are too decayed to be of much iconographical interest. The most striking *feature perhaps, is the*

series of lions rampant, at the angles of the buildings, and at intervals, along the unfinished enclosure walls. These are peculiar to the Rājasimha period, and are not met with in the earlier examples of Pallava architecture.

The ruined sculptures in the double enclosure on the western side of the temple, like those on the main building and screen wall, are all very weather-worn and no longer of any artistic merit. One panel however, which I discovered on the north side of the enclosure wall is of interest (Plate III(*a*)), as it represents a crude copy of part of the same scene portrayed in the great rock-sculpture known as Arjuna's Penance (*vide* Plate XXX of Part II). In the upper panel we have the same group of six ascetics, one of them standing on one leg in the act of doing penance, and below, the penitent cat, a monkey, and two deer. It is obvious where the sculptor got his idea from, and it is also clear that the scene is in no way connected with the story of Arjuna's Penance. The latter is an important point, as it supports the theory set forth in Part II, that the popular name of Arjuna's Penance given to this famous rock-sculpture at the Seven Pagodas, is a misnomer.*

On the opposite side of the enclosure, and facing the west, is the quaint image of Durgā's lion shown in Plate III(*b*). It is a trifle larger than life size, and the goddess is shown sitting astride the lion's right thigh. Cut in the centre of the lion's chest is a small square niche, presumably as a receptacle for a lamp or votive offerings. At the foot of the pedestal is the recumbent figure of a headless buffalo.

The stone bulls on top of the unfinished enclosure walls were found buried in the sand, both within and without the enclosure when the latter was excavated by the Archæological Department some years ago. However, had the walls been completed this is the position that they would have occupied, only at wider intervals. This custom is not an uncommon one in Southern India, but as a rule, the bulls are smaller and executed in stucco, and in all probability, it was introduced during the Rājasimha period, as we have no earlier examples of this curious architectural feature.

The two Siva temples illustrated in Plate IV(*a*) and (*b*) also belong to this period. The Īsvara temple is situated on the summit of the great rock in which the famous Mahishāsura Mandapa is excavated. It is built in the same style as the Shore Temple and was originally plastered and whitewashed. The superstructure has disappeared but this was no doubt similar in style to the pyramidal tower over the Shore Temple. Before the stone Lighthouse was built in 1900, this old Siva temple was used as a Lighthouse and had a wooden shed constructed on its flat roof for the purpose. This eyesore has since been removed.

The Mukunda Nāyanār Siva temple was discovered buried in drift sand some 12 feet deep, and is situated about half a mile to the north of the village of Mahabalipuram on the way to the ancient suburb of Sāluvankuppam. It

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* When I wrote the account of this monument in Part II, I did not know at the time, that Mon. Victor Goloubew of Hanoi had already arrived at a similar conclusion regarding the meaning of this sculpture and had published an article on "Arjuna's Penance" in the *Journal Asiatique*, July—August 1914, pp. 210—212, and also in "*Arc Asiatica*," Vol. III, 1921.

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is a poor example of the Pallava architecture of this period. It contains a black stone fluted *linga* of the usual kind, and the Sōmaskanda panel on the back wall of the sanctum. The two slightly fluted columns of semi-classical appearance supporting the facade of the portico illustrated in Plate IV(*b*), are an unusual feature in temples of this period, and suggest foreign influence.

Panamalai.—A small village in the Villupuram taluk of the South Arcot district and about 14 miles north-west of Villupuram railway station. It possesses a picturesque old Siva temple built on the top of a small rocky hill situated alongside of a large reservoir The temple contains an important Pallava inscription of the time of Rājasimha In Volume I, *Pallava Antiquities*, pages 11 to 23, Mr. Jouveau Dubreuil has shown that the Panamalai inscription and the one on the tower over the central shrine of the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeeveram are contemporaneous. Both inscriptions begin with the genealogy of Pallava, the founder of the dynasty Then comes a eulogy of the Pallava princes Further on, it is recorded that in this family was born a prince named Rājasimha who was the son of Paramēsvaravarman I. Then follows a panegyric of Rājasimha who is compared in both inscriptions to a lion, and 'vanquisher of the elephants. The latter refers to the enemy princes, as, according to tradition, the lion is the natural enemy of the elephant. As there was only one Pallava king, Narasimhavarman II, who was surnamed Rājasimha there cannot be any doubt that the same king built both temples in the beginning of the 8th century A. D Even had there been no inscriptions on the Panamalai temple to guide us as to its origin, a study of its architecture would be sufficient to convince any one that it is in the same style and belongs to the same period as the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeeveram

The temple faces the east, at least it was apparently intended that it should face this direction, but as a matter of fact it is a few degrees south of true east. The body of the building from the plinth to the cornice is built of stone and the superstructure in brick and plaster The entire building was covered with a coating of plaster and the figures and ornamentation in stucco The building is square on plan containing a little sanctum with massive walls surrounded by a narrow procession path with a small entrance porch on the east side (Plate IV(*c*) and (*d*)) In front is a large pillared hall or mandapa which appears to be a later addition. Inside the sanctum is a black stone *linga* with fluted sides mounted on a *yoni* pedestal. Carved on the back wall of the shrine immediately behind the *linga* and facing the east, is a panel representing Sōmaskanda.

Outside, built up against the north, south and west walls of the sanctum are three little attendant shrines each of which contains a fluted black stone *linga* of the same type as the one in the central shrine. All of these *lingas* are in the form of a prism with eight, or sixteen slightly fluted vertical facets which terminate in the centre of the crown of the *linga* and are carved out o black basalt and were originally highly polished. The *linga* in the centr shrine is larger than those in the three attendant shrines outside. The mo striking feature about the exterior of the temple is the number of big stuc

lions attached to the bases of the pilasters which decorate the angles of the main building. These conventional lions are nearly life size and portrayed standing on their hind legs in the act of springing forward. The hind feet rest on a little pedestal which stands on a flat horizontal band which is continued all round the outer walls of the central shrine. Engraved on this band is the inscription mentioned above. Below the band and under the feet of the lions, are the heads of small recumbent elephants, portrayed as being crushed by the lions. Thus the rampant lions appear to symbolise Rājasimha as the "vanquisher of the elephants" as mentioned in the inscription. The little pilasters or engaged columns at the angles of the building are supported on the backs of the lions and this may be intended to illustrate in a conventional manner, the support and encouragement which Rājasimha gave to the building of Siva temples during his reign. (Plate IV(*d*)).

The cornice is similar in style to those usually found in Pallava temples, but instead of human heads peering through the gable windows, we have here a representation of the end of a wooden cross beam supporting the curved roof. This is a common feature in some of the Pallava temples at the Seven Pagodas. (Plate IV (*d*)).

In front of the main building is the large pillared mandapa referred to above and there are also on the north and south sides two pillared verandahs, all of which represent later additions and are of no archæological interest. In one of these, I found lying on the floor, two black stone fluted *lingas* and two carved stone figures of dwarfs blowing conch shells. These must have belonged to the original building but it is not clear what particular place they occupied. The two dwarfs are identical in style to the four dwarfs which stand at the four corners of the uppermost tier of the stepped tower or *vimāna* over the central shrine of the Shore Temple at the Seven Pagodas, which was also built by Rājasimha. All of them are provided with tenons underneath for fixing in square socket holes, so the two dwarfs at Panamalai may have originally occupied similar positions to those at the Shore Temple and were perhaps removed when the tower was repaired and never replaced.

Thus the plan of the Panamalai temple presents the same peculiarity as that of the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeeveram in having small attendant shrines built round the exterior walls of the central chamber, the doors of which face either to the east or west but never to the north or south. The *lingas* at both temples are of the same characteristic type. Both temples have the bas-relief panel carved on the back wall of the central shrine representing Sōmaskanda, the rampant lions, engaged columns, mouldings, and the style of the *vimāna* and nature of construction are similar in each case. Therefore there can be no doubt that both temples belong to the same period and represent typical examples of Pallava architecture of the early part of the 8th century.

Kānchī, or **Kānchipuram**, now the modern town of Conjeeveram in the Madras Presidency, is one of the seven holy cities of India and was always a great seat of learning. In it dwelt men of various religious beliefs, Vedic

professors living side by side with Jains and Buddhists. That all these religions were equally tolerated by the ancient Pallava kings may be inferred from the fact that some of the earlier rulers assumed such names as Buddhavarman, Skandavarman and Paramēsvaravarman—names which *perhaps, indicate the* sects to which they individually belonged. However, it is strange that in the south the honour belongs to one city only and that is Kānchī. It seems that this position was attained by Kānchī under the orthodox rule of the Pallavas and mainly by the religion of Saivism which they propagated and favoured together with the greatness of the Saiva saints who flourished there. Buddhism and Jainism both found followers in the Pallava empire but the religion of the ruling family and the people generally was Saivism. They built a few Vishnu temples but Siva was their family deity, and Kānchī is still the greatest strong-hold of Saivism in the south, and the most devout Saiva poets and saints belong to that city. It was probably on this account, that Kānchī has risen to the proud position of a holy city in Hindu estimation

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang visited Kānchī in the 7th century A D., and he states with regard to the religious condition of the Pallava country—"There are some hundreds of Buddhist monasteries and ten thousand priests. They study the teaching of the Sthavira School belonging to the Great Vehicle. There are some eighty Dēva temples and many heretics called Nirgranthas (Jains)." Even at the present day, a few Buddhist images may be seen in some of the temple-yards and gardens at Conjeeveram. The late Mr Gopinatha Rao, in a paper entitled "*Bauddha Vestiges in Kānchipura*," published in the "*Indian Antiquary*" (Vol. XLIV, Part DLVII, June 1915), has given a brief account of the best of these images. There are two images however, in the Kāmākshī enclosure which he overlooked. They are both life size figures, one represents a man and the other a woman and both are in a sitting posture as though in contemplation. They are placed one at each end of the retaining walls of a big stepped masonry well. The latter is no longer visible because a large ornamental tank was constructed in front of it in later times and the water level of the tank is now above the level of the well. In all probability, these two images represent portrait statues of two devout Buddhists who provided the money to construct the well. In a private garden at the back of the Kāmākshī temple, is a life size black stone image of Buddha. This is one of the few Buddhist images at Conjeeveram that is in a good state of preservation. None of these Buddhist images are earlier than the 3rd century A. D., and most of them appear to be several centuries later than that date, and as works of art they are not remarkable. There are also a few Jain remains at Conjeeveram, and at Tiruparithikundram a hamlet three miles from the city, there is a Jain temple built in the Rājasimha style and known as the Varthamāna temple. It contains a number of mural paintings which although of no particular artistic merit are interesting from an iconographical point of view. This temple is still in use as a place of worship.

Of the monasteries and other Buddhist buildings mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, not a vestige remains, and the mutilated state of the few remaining

Chālukyas. Two copper-plate records of Vikramāditya and two of his son Vinayāditya have been discovered in this district.

Other inscriptions in archaic characters run round the inside of the enclosure of the Rājasimhēsvara temple and contain an enumeration of several hundred *birudas* of king Rājasimha but record nothing of real historical interest. In front of the Rājasimhēsvara or Kailāsanātha temple and in line with the east wall of the templeyard, is a smaller Siva temple with a waggon-headed roof now called Nāradēsvara. An inscription consisting of four Sanskrit verses runs round the base of this smaller temple, informing us, that this shrine was built by Rājasimha's son Mahēndravarman III who named it Mahēndrēsvara, or Mahēndravarmēsvara, after himself

Immediately in front of the Rājasimhēsvara temple is an ancient pillared hall or mandapa, connected with the former by an unsightly modern apartment with an entrance on the south side. The style of this ancient building shows that it belongs to the same period as the temple Engraved on its archaic pillars are some interesting Kanarese inscriptions recording that the Western Chālukyan king Vikramāditya II visited the Rājasimhēsvara temple, and influenced probably by religious feeling and the beauty of the temple, not only left the building intact, but made a grant to it and perpetuated the memory of his capture of the city by this inscription. The following description of this historical event is recorded in the Vakkaleri grant describing the reign of Vikramāditya II.[1] He is described as —" the king of great kings, the supreme ruler, the lord, to whom arose great energy immediately after the time of his anointment at the self-choice of the goddess of the sovereignty of the whole world, and who resolved to uproot completely his natural enemy, the Pallava, who had robbed of their splendour the previous kings born from his race, reached with great speed the Tondai-mandalam *(the Pallava kingdom proper)*, attacked at the head of battle and put to flight the Pallava called Nandipotavarman, (Nandivarman) who had come to meet him, took possession of the musical instrument *(called)* "harshsounding" and of the excellent musical instrument called "roar of the sea," of the banner (marked with Siva's) club, of many renowned and excellent elephants, and of a heap of rubies, which expelled the darkness by the multitude of their rays, and entered *(the city of)* Kānchi, which seemed to be a handsome girdle *(kānchi)* of the nymph of the southern region, without destroying it. Having made the twice-born, the distressed and the helpless rejoice by continual gifts, having acquired great merit by granting heaps of gold to the stone built (temple) of Rājasimhēsvara, which Narasimhapotavarman had caused to be built, and to other temples, and having burnt by the unimpeded progress of his power the Pāndya, Chōla, Kerala, Kalabhra and other princes, he placed a pillar of victory *(jayastambha)*, which consisted *(as it were)* of the mass of his fame that was as pure as the bright *moon in autumn (reflected)* on the Southern Ocean, which was called Ghūrnamānārnas *(whose waves are rolling)*, and whose

[1] S. Ind. inscriptions Vol. I, p. 164.

shore glittered with the rays of pearls dropped from their shells, that were beaten and split by the trunks of the frightened elephants (*his enemies*), which resembled sea-monsters." The *jayastambha*, or inscribed pillar of victory mentioned in the above description, no doubt refers to the Kanarese inscription which he caused to be engraved on one of the pillars in the mandapa of the Rājasimhēsvara temple.

Both on plan and in style, the central shrine of the Kailāsanātha temple bears a strong resemblance to the Shore Temple (Plate V). It is dedicated to Siva, faces the east, and has a sanctum 9 feet square enclosed by massive stone walls 6 feet thick. Enshrined within is a huge sixteen-sided black stone *linga* about 6 feet in height and 3 feet in diameter. Behind the *linga* and facing the north, is a large bas-relief panel representing Sōmaskanda. Thus the shrine, *linga*, and panel are similar to those in the Shore Temple. Around the sanctum is a narrow circumambulatory passage with a flight of steps on the south side leading up to the first floor. In front is a portico flanked by two small shrines, one on each side of the entrance. As the sanctum and passage are covered by the flat roof or terrace above on which stands the pyramidal tower of the temple, the interior is in total darkness. The exterior walls of the shrine chamber are provided with no less than nine small attendant shrines. Three of these abut on to the back wall, three on the east or front wall, and one on the north and south walls respectively. Those on the back wall face the west but the remainder face the east, and as at Panamalai, care has been taken to avoid any of them facing the north or south (Plate V(*c*)).

At a distance of 26 feet to the east, is the ancient mandapa containing the inscribed pillars mentioned above. This mandapa which originally stood alone, has been connected with the central shrine by a modern closed in hall which has quite spoilt the original appearance of the temple.

The pyramidal tower over the central shrine is divided into three main storeys rising to a total height of about 50 feet and is crowned with the usual umbrella ornament surmounted by an urn-finial. (Plate V(*b*)). It is built of stone like the Shore Temple, granite being used for the substructures and where extra strength was required, and an inferior sandstone for the rest of the building. The larger figures, and conventional lions attached to the angles and pilasters all round the building, are executed mainly in brick and plaster, but the bas-reliefs and finer architectural details were first carved in relief on the sandstone and then finished in plaster, the entire building, within and without, being covered with whitewash. As in the Shore Temple, few if any of the sculptures are carved out of a single stone, the joints of the masonry go right through them, indicating that they were executed after the stones had been placed in position. Fergusson also mentions that this custom is usual in India where the buildings "are always set up in block, and the carving executed *in situ*." The reason for this custom seems to be due to the fact, that, prior to this period, the sculptors had been employed on rock-cut monuments and carved wooden buildings, and that they continued to employ the same method in decorating the structural buildings. When a large

bas-relief had to be executed, extending over several courses of masonry, the sculptors had to resort to plaster to hide the unsightly joints in the stone work. In this manner, the stone carving became merely a ground-work for the plaster, the details being finished in the latter material. As might be expected, the result of this desultory method led to a great falling off in the standard of the stone carving, the decorator relying on the plaster to hide defects in his work. Needless to say, these sculptural figures and ornaments soon decayed when exposed to the sun and rain, necessitating periodical renovations, with the result that very little of the original plaster work remains to-day. A vast number of the larger figures and bas-relief panels decorating the central shrine and attendant buildings were extensively renovated less than ten years ago. Whether this modern work is inferior to the original, I cannot say, but it is certainly of no particular artistic merit and the temple and surrounding buildings are spoilt by over ornamentation, every available space being covered with crudely executed plaster figures and reliefs depicting Siva in his numerous manifestations in bewildering confusion. A good specimen of this plaster work is shown in Plate VI(*a*). However, from an iconographical point of view, this vast collection of Saiva deities, symbols and legends depicted in the bas-reliefs must be quite the largest and most complete in India, and should prove a veritable mine of information to the student of Saivism.

The ancient mandapa in front of the central shrine is decorated in the same style as the latter and if not actually built at the same time, must have been erected very soon after. The square pillars supporting the flat roof are of a very archaic type resembling in style some of those of the Māmalla period.

In front of this mandapa, standing where the main entrance into the temple enclosure should be, is the Mahēndravarmēsvar temple built by Rājasimha's son Mahēndravarman III (Plate VI(*b*)). It is oblong on plan and faces the east. The shrine chamber measures 5 feet wide and 10 feet in length and has a small portico in front approached by a short flight of steps. The shrine contains a fluted *linga* of the usual kind peculiar to this period. Instead of having the Sōmaskanda panel carved on the back wall of the interior, it appears on the exterior and is shown in Plate VI(*b*). The usual stucco lions decorate the angles of the building. On each side of the Sōmaskanda panel are two little niches supported on the heads of elephants. Two crudely executed figures of doorkeepers armed with clubs guard the entrance into the temple. The waggon-headed roof, a development of the style of roof appearing in the Ganēsa temple at Māmallapuram (*vide* Part II, Plate XVII), is decorated with five large urn-finials, and the tops of the gables with conventional lion masks. From its position on plan, it looks as though this temple was built before the central shrine was surrounded by a walled enclosure. The latter measures 150 feet from east to west, and is 80 feet in width, and has a small entrance on the east side, immediately in front of Mahēndra's temple. Built up against the enclosure walls is a continuous row of fifty-nine miniature Siva shrines carried all round the enclosure. The style of these little shrines

is illustrated in Plate VI(*c*) and (*d*). They are all alike, and each one is crowned by an umbrella ornament, and originally, had, or was intended to have, a small fluted *linga* of the usual kind enshrined within. Most of them have a Sōmaskanda panel inside. Like the nine larger attendant shrines attached to the outer walls of the central temple, all of these fifty-nine miniature shrines face either to the east or west and never to the north or south. In front of the main entrance into the templeyard and facing the east, is a row of eight more of these little shrines, similar in all respects to those inside the enclosure (Plate VI(*d*)). Their position outside the templeyard, seems to indicate that the original idea was to provide the central temple with a double enclosure, the outer wall of which was to have been similar in design to the inner one, but the work was never completed.

The little entrance gateway giving access into the enclosure and shown in Plate V(*a*) is interesting. It is crowned with a small waggon-headed roof. smaller but similar in style to the one over Mahēndra's temple. Here we have the prototype of the great *gopurams*, or many-storeyed towers over the gateways of the mediæval Hindu temples of Southern India.

A few yards to the east of this gateway, stands a big brick and plaster figure of the bull Nandi. The remains of four stone pillars at the corners of the masonry platform on which the figure rests, indicates that it once had, or was intended to have a terraced roof over it. The figure has been repaired recently and is of no artistic or antiquarian interest.

In the earlier Pallava temples, no attempt was made to surround the shrine with a circumambulatory passage or procession path as we find in the later temples of the Rājasimha period. Neither do we find any traces of walled enclosures or templeyards around the shrines prior to this period. The Buddhists we know, usually fenced off a sacred precinct which served as a procession path around their stūpas and other religious monuments with a wooden railing and ornamental gateways of the same material. In special cases, these were copied in stone with a view to their lasting for ever as memorials to the Buddha. Since Hindu Architecture, as has been shown in Parts I and II of this work, is mainly a development of the older art of the Buddhists, it is probable that the Brāhmans too, erected similar wooden railings around their temples enclosing a sacred precinct for circumambulation, and like the Buddhists, eventually came to the conclusion that owing to the perishable nature of wood, it was better, and cheaper in the long run, to replace these wooden railings with stone walls. The sudden appearance of these procession paths and big enclosures around the temples of the Rājasimha period requires some explanation. It would appear that originally, the procession path or passage around the shrine was open to the sky as in the Shore Temple. In the Panamalai and Conjeeveram temples, we find the passage closed with a flat roof and the interior in total darkness. In the case of the Shore Temple, although the great screen wall forming the procession path around the shrine is splendidly built so far as it goes, the planning of the back wall shows considerable indecision on the part of the architect who left the

work unfinished. A glance at the plan of this temple (Plate II), clearly shows that the original idea was to carry the wall completely round the temple. The main entrance to this temple faces the east and the open sea, but it is doubtful whether this approach was ever used as such. One would have thought that in designing the screen, the architect would have provided an entrance in the centre of the back wall for the convenience of visitors to the temple who must necessarily approach the building from this side only, the other side being occupied by the sea. It is possible that the architect thought of doing so, but was prevented from carrying out his plan owing to Rāja-simha building another Siva temple on the site, and back to back to the main building. Had this second temple been built in a straight line with the central shrine, as is the case with the Kailāsanātha and Mahēndra's temple the screen wall of the Shore Temple could have been extended forward so as to include both temples in the same enclosure. However, this was not done, but an attempt was made to build another and larger enclosure in front of the smaller Siva temple facing the west but the work was never completed. But for the inscriptions engraved on the flag-staff pedestals standing in this unfinished enclosure, one would naturally have taken the latter to represent a later addition. The somewhat hopeless muddle in which the architect seems to have found himself in providing the Shore Temple with a proper procession path and enclosure, seems to indicate that he had not had much previous experience in carrying out such works.

In the Kailāsanātha temple, we see an improvement in the planning of both the main building and the enclosure But even here, the position of Mahēndra's temple, obstructing the main entrance into the enclosure as it does, shows some confusion of ideas on the part of the builder, who lost through faulty planning, a good opportunity of producing an imposing main entrance. Again, the unequal number of miniature shrines, six on the north, and two on the south side of the paltry main entrance into the enclosure, spoils the façade and gives it an unfinished appearance (Plate V(a)).

The planning and construction of these Pallava temples, is not only of interest to the architect, showing as they do, the gradual development of Hindu temple architecture from very humble beginnings, but their study is equally instructive to the student of religion, as they clearly demonstrate how Hinduism became more and more complex as time went on. The style of the temples of the earlier period shows that the Hinduism of those early days was a simple, straight-forward form of worship conducted openly, and free from that secrecy and mysticism which forms such a striking feature of that religion in later times, necessitating the provision of secret passages round the shrine, gloomy interiors and high-walled enclosures, features quite nknown in the earlier examples. Not only do we find a change in the plann-g of the interiors of the temples, but also in their outward appearance. The nple flat terraced roof surmounted by a low dome-shaped umbrella orna-nt of the earlier period, has now become transformed into a lofty many-reyed pyramidal tower rising to a height of 50 feet or more, and forming,

as no doubt it was intended it should do, an attractive landmark for miles around the countryside. These changes show how very powerful the Brāhmans had become, their costly religious buildings far exceeding in magnificence the royal palaces of the kings.

Vaikuntha Perumāl Temple.—This is one of the few large Pallava temples dedicated to Vishṇu. It stands at the other end of the town, almost due east of the Kailāsanātha temple and close to Conjeeveram railway station.

Unlike his father, Paramēsvaravarman II, who built this temple, must have been a devout Vaishṇava. The name Vaikuntha means the heaven of Vishṇu, who in Southern India, is usually styled Perumāl, the "Great one." Both on plan and in style, the central shrine bears a strong resemblance to th Kailāsanātha temple (Plate VII). Like the latter, the pyramidal tower consists of a central shrine on the ground floor and three upper storeys. The one on the ground floor measures 7 feet square and 10 feet in height, with massive stone walls 7 feet in thickness. These walls had to be exceptionally strong to carry the weight of the lofty superstructure. Enshrined within and facing the east, is a large four-armed image of Vishṇu in a sitting posture. The shrine on the first floor is a little larger than the one below and contains a fairly large image of Vishṇu in the form of Anantasayana. The cell on the second floor is a little smaller than those below and contains an image of Vishṇu, smaller, but similar to the one on the ground floor. The third storey of the tower is hollow so as to reduce the weight on the substructure. The section given in Plate VII(*b*) explains the construction and arrangement of these superimposed shrines. If the reader will kindly compare this section with the one of Dharmarāja's Ratha shown in Plate XV of Part II, he will see how this style of temple originated. There can be little doubt, that the many-storeyed *vihāras* or monasteries of the Buddhist period were built in this style, only, mainly of wooden construction.

The central shrine is surrounded by two narrow covered passages or *prākāras*. The inner one is in darkness and has a flight of stone steps at the back leading up to the shrines on the upper floors. The outer passage is provided with door and window openings facing the open templeyard. The shrine on the first floor also has two passages round it, one covered and one open, the latter forming a balcony as in Dharmarāja's Ratha. The upper shrine has a balcony only around it.

The central shrine faces the east and has a small portico in front leading into a handsome pillared hall 22 feet square. The latter is an ancient structure forming an integral part of the original building, and not a later addition as we usually find. The temple stands in a walled enclosure or templeyard 108 feet in length and 79 feet in width, with a pillared verandah running all round the inside of the enclosure, the walls of which are covered with bas-relief panels, some of them inscribed. The panels are in two rows separated by a flat narrow moulding apparently intended for engraving titles explaining the sculptures. Each panel was evidently meant to denote a particular event in contemporary history. The original sculptures are considerably

decayed but the temple authorities have tried to restore them with plaster. The explanatory notes have not been filled in completely, but are found only on a small portion of the south verandah wall and explain thirteen panels of the upper row of reliefs. The first of these refers to the death of Paramēsvaravarman II, the builder of the temple which is called Paramēsvara Vinnagaram after this king. The events which happened after this king's death are portrayed in the bas-reliefs (*South Indian Inscriptions Vol II, p. 344*). A dispute about the succession to the throne after Paramēsvaravarman's death seems to have occurred and Nandivarman, a cousin of Paramēsvaravarman II, was chosen by the subjects as their king. At this period, internal dissensions had set in the Pallava family, and the Western Chālukyans were not slow to take advantage of this unsettled state of the Pallava empire. As we know from the inscriptions in the mandapa of the Kailāsanātha temple mentioned above, Vikramāditya II, lost no time in attacking Kānchipuram, defeated Nandivarman and captured the city After this crushing defeat by the Chālukyans, Pallava ascendancy seems to have come to an end in the south.

It will be noticed in the plan of this temple (Plate VII(c)) that the number of passages around the shrine have been increased If we include the open procession path outside the shrine and the verandah running all round the templeyard, the number of *prākaras* around the shrine is now no less than four. Again, in the Kailāsanātha temple, the mahāmandapa or pavilion belonging to the temple, stands 26 feet away from the main building and is a separate edifice. In the Vaikuntha temple, it forms the front portion of the central shrine and is no longer a separate building. The pillared verandah too, is an additional feature not met with before in Pallava architecture. These new features denote not only a change in the architecture, but a change in the form of worship conducted in the temples

In the Shore Temple, the four corners of the roof of the top-most storey of the pyramidal tower, are decorated with figures of dwarfs or *ganas* blowing conch-shell trumpets. In the Kailāsnātha temple, and in fact, in most Siva temples, from this period down to the present day, the *ganas* are replaced by figures of the bull Nandi. In the earlier temples, figures of Nandi, like Ganēsa and Skanda, hardly ever appear, and when they do, occupy quite a subordinate place in the ornamentation of the temples, clearly showing that all three were regarded as minor deities of no great importance in early times. But in the Rājasimha period, and from that time onwards, we find them occupying prominent positions in the architectural ornamentation of the temples and often provided with separate buildings to enshrine them, until ultimately, the worship of Ganēsa and Skanda develop into two separate cults with temples of their own.

Being dedicated to Vishnu, the angles of the upper-most cornice of the Vaikuntha temple are decorated with stucco figures of Garuḍa in place of bulls, as may be seen in Plate VII(*a*). The pilasters or engaged columns decorating the exterior walls of the shrine however, still retain the lions rampant, so typical of the Siva temples of this period.

CHAPTER II.

The Last or Nandivarman Period.

(Cir. 800 to 900 A. D.)

Although the crushing defeat inflicted on Nandivarman by the Western Chālukyan king Vikrāmaditya II may be regarded as the beginning of the end of Pallava supremacy in the south, the Pallavas still continued to exist in some form or other long *after* this event, and seem to have enjoyed some independent dominion in a portion of their ancient territory. Strangely enough, their rivals the Chālukyas also ceased to be the ruling power in the west about the same time as Pallava ascendancy came to an end in the south, and thus, the heirs of the Pallavas were not the Chālukyas, who had to make way for the Rāshtrakūtas, but the Chōlas, who in alliance with the Pāndyas of the south, inflicted a decisive defeat on the Pallavas at the close of the ninth century. Pallava chiefs continued to exist down to the thirteenth century, but as a distinct race or clan, they totally disappear from the stage of history.

Nandivarman is said to have reigned for about fifty years, but it is not clear who actually succeeded him. Among his later successors was a king named Aparājita, who claims to have vanquished the Pāndya king, Varaguna II, at the battle of Srī Purambiya, but was himself defeated by the Chōla king Aditya I, about the end of the ninth century. From that time Pallava supremacy was transferred to the Chōlas, who brought all the southern kingdoms under their control during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

During the period of Pallava history extending from the reign of Nandivarman to the defeat of Aparājita by the Chōlas, roughly, from 800 to 900 A.D., very few Pallava monuments have been discovered which can be definitely assigned to this period. In the earlier Pallava monuments, an early, intermediate, and a later style, are clearly discernible as has already been shown in this work, and even when the monuments possessed no inscriptions to guide us, their approximate age could always be determined with some degree of accuracy on architectural grounds. But in this last phase of Pallava architecture, no definite style prevailed to mark the period, and without the aid of inscriptions, their proper classification becomes difficult. It has been shown in the last chapter, how a change in religion may create a change in the prevailing style of architecture of the period. In addition to this, the style of architecture may also be influenced by neighbouring cultures. In all probability, the Pallavas during the time of Nandivarman and his immediate successor, continued to build small Siva temples similar in style to the Muktēsvara temple, as several shrines of this type exist in and a ound Conjeeveram and obviously belong to this later period, but the Vaikuntha temple represents the last large and important temple executed by the Pallavas.

Muktêsvara Temple.—Of these smaller Siva temples at Conjeeveram, the Muktêsvara and Matangêsvara temples are the best examples. In size, on plan, and in style, they are practically identical, so a single description will suffice for both temples (Plate VIII).

The Muktêsvara temple contains three inscriptions which are published in *South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. IV, pp. 285-7* The first of these is dated in the 28th year of the reign of Nandivarman and from the fact that the temple is called *Dharma-Mādēvi Isvara* and that a lady named Dharma-Mādēvi, probably a Pallava queen, made provision for the daily worship of the deity enshrined within the temple, it may be inferred that the temple was built at this period and probably by the lady in question. The second is a damaged Chōla record, while the third belongs to the Vijayanagar dynasty.

On plan, the Muktêsvara temple consists of a small shrine chamber about 7 feet square with massive stone walls 7 feet in thickness. The shrine doorway is small, and in front of it is a pillared porch 12 feet square, the flat roof of which is supported in the centre by four lion-based pillars similar in style to those found in the Pallava monuments of the earlier period. The building stands on a high basement or podium so that the floor of the interior is about 8 feet above the ground level and is approached by a flight of steps in front The simplicity of the plan of the shrine chamber, the style of the lion-based pillars and mouldings decorating the podium, suggest that the architect took Dharmarāja's Ratha at Māmallapuram as his model (*vide* Plate XIV of Part II). However, the bas-relief sculptures and exterior ornamentation of the temple, like the *linga* and *Sōmaskanda* panel within, are typical of the Rājasimha period.

There is, however, another type of small Siva temple that came into existence during the latter part of this period, which is a development of the apsidal-ended temple of the Māmalla period and similar in style to the so-called Sahadēva's Ratha at Māmallapuram. It represents an intermediate style between the Rājasimha period and that of the Early Chōla. The *lingas* are no longer fluted, but plain cylindrical shafts, and generally smaller than in the previous period. The images and doorkeepers have four arms. The dormer-window ornament differs from that found in the earlier examples. The pillars and pilasters have no conventional lions and there is no Sōmaskanda panel in the sanctum. The ornamental niches decorating the exterior of the shrine are filled with stone images carved in high relief, or in the round.

Strictly speaking, most of these apsidal-ended temples date back to the latter part of the ninth century, and thus, belong rather to the reign of Aparājita than to the time of Nandivarman. But as the latter king is far better known in Indian History than the former, and as one always associates his name with the last Pallava king of any real historical importance, the name of Nandivarman has been chosen in preference to that of Aparājita as a convenient one to designate this last phase of Pallava architecture.

After the reign of Aparājita, Pallava architecture ceases to exist as a separate style and merges into that of the Chōlas.

Oragadam.—At Oragadam, a small village, 6½ miles to the south-east of Chingleput railway station, and 9 miles from the "Seven Pagodas," is an interesting little Siva temple modelled on the style of the rock-cut temple known as Sahādeva's Ratha at the latter place (*vide* Part II, Plate XI), and in all probability, belongs to the same period as the Virattanēsvara temple at Tiruttani.

It is built on a rocky hillock just outside the village and faces the east, is sacred to Siva and called the Vādāmallīsvara temple. It contains no inscriptions but on a boulder to the south-west of the hillock is an inscription belonging to the reign Rājakēsarivarman, and another to that of Rājēndra Chōla I (1011-12 A. D.), the latter records the gift of some sheep to purchase a lamp for the Tiruvādāmalaiyar temple Urōdagam *alias* Pallavamallachaturvedimangalam, which reminds us of a Pallava king of the eighth century. The inscriptions do not state when the temple was built but its style indicates that it belongs to the later Pallava period when the style of the latter merges into that of the Chōlas (Plate IX).

In describing the architecture and construction of the building, it will assist matters, if we leave out of consideration the pillared porch or *mandapa* erected in front of the main building. The style of the pillars and projecting cornice of this porch shows that this structure belongs to the Vijayanagar period and cannot be earlier than the sixteenth century. The plan of the building shows that the original structure consisted of a small square hall leading into a little apsidal-ended chamber enshrining a stone *linga* of the usual type, mounted on a *yoni* pedestal (Plate IX(*b*)). The walls are 3 feet thick and faced with well-dressed granite blocks neatly and accurately fitted, originally, without mortar. Between the stone facing of the walls, there is the usual core of rubble masonry. The stonework extends upto the double cornice and is provided with a flat terraced roof of the usual kind, except where the roof extends over the shrine chamber, where it takes the form of a flat ceiling composed of teakwood joists, concrete and plaster, effectually shutting off all communication with the hollow brick chamber above (Plate IX(*c*)). The little brick and plaster chaitya-like structure above the shrine chamber seems to have been added merely as an ornament denoting the position of the deity enshrined below, since it serves no useful purpose in lighting the interior as it possesses no windows, neither is it necessary as a roof covering for the chamber below as the latter is already provided with a durable roof. In the real Buddhist chaitya, there was no second or false roof below the upper one as we find here, and the gable end of the roof was always provided with a large horseshoe-shaped window usually fitted with an ornamental fan-light or carved wooden screen, forming an ideal means of affording light and ventilation to the interior of the building. Here, the brick and plaster gable end of the waggon-headed roof merely serves as an additional space for the display of stucco ornament, while images of the bull Nandi, and other conventional devices, denoting that the shrine is sacred to Siva, decorate the lower portion of the plaster work all round the roof at its junction with the

stone walls of the body of the building. The ridge running along the top of the roof was adorned with three large finials. These are usually gilt or painted yellow in imitation of gold. Originally, the whole of the plaster work was painted, the main figures and ornaments being picked out in bright colours in the same manner as is the custom in Southern India at the present day. The same custom was employed by the Buddhists from whom the Hindus no doubt borrowed it. The Hindus employ this method of decorating their temples not merely because they think it pleasing to the eye, and therefore pleasing to their gods; but because it also serves a useful purpose in religious instruction by explaining, in an anthropomorphic manner, the different gods and their various incarnations, and the sacred stories connected with them. Certain gods are painted in certain recognised colours, which are well known even to uneducated Hindus, who thus have no difficulty in interpreting the sacred scenes portrayed in the gaudy stucco work adorning their temples. In condemning this practice, we should remember that the Hindus are only carrying out a custom of great antiquity, and one which they believe to be useful as means of imparting religious instruction to uneducated people.

In the stone architecture of the temple, we may still find traces of the old conventional lions, leogryphs, and dormer-window ornament so familiar in the earlier Pallava monuments. But these decorative forms now occupy a subordinate position in the design of the building. The boldly cut, well defined gable ornament, simulating a long waggon-headed roof decorated with a row of dormer windows with the heads of monks or nuns peering through them, as we noticed in the temples of the earlier period, has now degenerated into a heavy curved moulding ornamented with floriated, fan-shaped plaques. Its original character and meaning has disappeared. This change in the architecture also denotes a change in religion. It shows that the latter has become more elaborate and complex, and that the number of deities to be reckoned with has increased. Thus we find the architect has been called upon to provide extra accommodation for these additional images and more space for the display of religious ornament. In order to accomplish this without departing from the original plan for temples in this style, he introduces five large ornamental niches into the outer surface of the stone walls, and provides little niches filled with stucco images all round the brickwork above. At a still later period, he adds a pillared porch in front of the main entrance, forming a clumsy and unnecessary addition which quite spoils the pleasing simplicity of the original design.

Apsidal-ended temples of this type are not uncommon in Southern India, and as a rule are dedicated to Siva. Perhaps in adopting this style of building from the Buddhists, the Brahmans saw in its apsidal-ended plan, the sacred form of the linga or phallic emblem of Siva, and thus considered it an appropriate design for Saivite temples (Plate IX(b)).

Tiruttani.—Is a small town near Arkonam. About half a mile to the east of Tiruttani railway station is a stone built Pallava temple named Virattanēsvara, sacred to Siva and faces the east, is private property and still in

use as a place of worship. The structure shows signs of having received numerous coats of whitewash in the past, and here and there are traces of old colour work on the exterior of the building, particularly under the projecting cornice. It is square on plan with a small porch or hall facing the east giving access to a shrine chamber 6 feet square. Immediately in front of the latter, is a modern stone built hall or mandapa, an unnecessary addition which has ruined the original appearance of the temple. Within the shrine is a *linga* mounted on a *yoni* pedestal of the usual kind, and on each side of the entrance into the shrine, is a standing figure of a four-armed doorkeeper leaning on a club or mace in characteristic Pallava style. It will be remembered that in the earlier Pallava temples, the doorkeepers have only two arms. The exterior walls of the sanctum are decorated with three ornamental niches containing well-executed black stone images in the round of Siva, Brahmā and Vishṇu. Siva in the form of Dakshināmūrti appears on the north, and Vishṇu on the west. In addition to these three images, there is one of Durgā in a niche on the north wall of the porch, and one of Gaṇēsa in a corresponding niche on the south wall (Plate XI). All of these images have four arms, and with the exception of Durgā, are portrayed seated on thrones or pedestals. The conch and discus attributes shown in the upper hands of Vishṇu and Durgā respectively, are depicted with flames of fire, a feature not met with in earlier Pallava iconography.

Two boldly cut plain mouldings or bands decorate the plinth of the temple and on the flat surface of these mouldings are incised ancient inscriptions in Tamil verse recording that the temple was built by a certain Nambi Appi in the 18th year of the reign of the Pallava king Aparājita Vikramavarman. Since we know from the Tiruvālangādu Plates (*Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906, p. 65*) that this king was defeated by the Chōla king Āditya I who seized the Pallava empire, and that this conquest occurred before 900 A.D., we may assume that the temple was built during the latter part of the 9th century A.D., when the Pallava dynasty came to an end and the Chōlas became the ruling dynasty in Southern India.

The exterior angles of the building are ornamented with slender pilasters with bracket capitals having the roll ornament on the underside, like the pillars belonging to the Māmalla period. A curved projecting cornice decorated with the dormer-window ornament is carried all round the flat terraced roof. Below this cornice is a frieze of dwarfs or *ganas*. Above it, is a stone blocking course ornamented with griffins, and at each angle of the porch roof, this blocking course is provided with a water spout in the form of a gargoyle (Plate XI(*a*)). This unusual feature seems to have been borrowed from the temple known as Dharmarāja's Ratha at the Seven Pagodas described in detail in Part II. On the western side of the roof there is a figure of the bull Nandi at each corner. It will be noticed that the simulated gable windows ornamenting the cornice no longer have spade-shaped finials as in the earlier examples but this ornament has now been converted into a conventional lion's mask.

The tower or *vimāna* over the shrine chamber is designed like a small model of a Buddhist chaitya and bears a striking resemblance to Sahādeva's Ratha at the Seven Pagodas (*vide* Part II, Plate XI) The back of the apse and the side walls are decorated with ornamental niches surmounted by simulated dormer windows. Below the eaves is a frieze of sacred geese. The top of the waggon-headed roof is crowned with a row of four large stone finials. The gable front is decorated with a carved horseshoe-shaped bargeboard and central ornament similar in style to those belonging to certain monuments at the Seven Pagodas described in Part II. The finial adorning the top of the stone bargeboard, like those appearing above the simulated dormer windows below, takes the form of a conventional lion's mask (Plate X(*b*)) Carved on the lower portion of the gable end of the roof, and occupying the position of a doorway leading into the interior, is a square panel depicting in bas-relief the Sōmaskanda group so familiar in the Pallava temples of the Rājasimha period.

Unlike most Pallava temples belonging to this period, the entire building is of stone, and the manner in which the ornamentation of the façade, and the treatment of the curved surface of the roof has been executed, clearly shows that the carving and shaping of the stones used in the construction of the building were finished after the temple was built, just as though it had been a monolithic monument like those of the Māmalla period.

Gudimallam.—This village is six miles to the north of the important railway junction of Renigunta in the Madras Presidency. It contains an ancient Siva temple called Parasurāmēsvara. Parasurām, "the axe-bearing Rāma," is supposed to be the founder of the West Coast country, having miraculously reclaimed it from the encroaching sea. He is, therefore, often worshipped in Malabar in special shrines dedicated to him Siva temples with the name Parasurāmēsvara are not uncommon in the south and they are believed to owe their existence to Parasurāma. The Gudimallam temple is an ancient one belonging to the later Pallava period. It contains a number of Pallava, Chōla and Bāna inscriptions of considerable historical importance. An account of these was published by the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao in the *Indian Antiquary* for April 1911, pages 104 to 114. These records show that the two Pallava kings, Nandivarman and Dantivarman, made gifts to the temple in the early part of the ninth century. The names of both these kings are mentioned in the inscriptions belonging to the Vaikuntha Perumāl temple at Conjeeveram. Mr. Gopinatha Rao was of opinion that Nandivarman was the son of Dantivarman. If this is correct, then Dantivarman must have been the immediate successor of Paramēsvaravarman II, and ruled for a short period before Nandivarman, who was a cousin of Paramēsvaravarman II, was chosen by the subjects as their king. A Chōla inscription in the Parasurāmēsvara temple records that it was rebuilt in 1126 A.D. during the reign of Vikramachōladēva. These inscriptions are of considerable importance in fixing the different periods of the Bāna kings, to whose reigns most of them belong.

On plan, in style and dimensions, the original shrine was practically identical to the Vādāmallisvara temple at Oragadam described above, and like the latter, consists of an apsidal-ended sanctum measuring 12 feet in length and 10 feet in width, with a small hall or porch in front about 10 feet square (Plate XII). In style and construction, the waggon-headed roof above the sanctum is similar to the one crowning the Oragadam temple, and the exterior walls of the shrine, like those of the latter, are provided with the same number of niches for stone images of Siva, Brahmā, Vishṇu, Durgā and Gaṇēsa respectively. The plaster ornamentation of the roof was renovated in 1126, and, therefore, is not quite in the same style as formerly, but in the main, the original style of the roof has been retained.

Enshrined within the small sanctum is a most remarkable *linga*, the only one of its kind ever discovered and which is illustrated in Plate XIII(*a*). It stands 5 feet above the floor level, is about a foot in thickness, and is carved out of a hard igneous stone of a dark brown colour and highly polished. The upper portion is a true copy of the *phallus*, but the front of the shaft is decorated with a well executed figure of Siva in high relief standing on the crouching figure of a Rākshasa or demon dwarf which forms the base of the *linga*. The base of the latter is fixed in a hole cut in the floor and is without the usual *yōni* stone. Siva is portrayed with only two arms, as in the earlier sculptures. In his right hand he holds a ram (presumably intended for a dead one) by its hind legs, and in his left hand a small water-vessel with a battle-axe, resting on his left shoulder, from which apparently he derives the name of Parasurāmēsvara. He is shown with matted locks and wearing a necklace, bangles and a diaphanous loin cloth. The hideous little figure of the Rākshasa with a pair of animal ears, resembles similar figures found in the earlier art of the Buddhists, from whence the sculptor doubtless got his idea.

In Part II, Plate XVIII, three types of Pallava lingas are shown. Of these, (*a*) represents a primitive type of linga of the Māmalla period, the polished crown of which, like the one in the Gudimallam temple, shows signs of realistic treatment. The biggest Pallava lingas belong to the Rājasimha period, and the two best specimens are enshrined in the Kailāsanātha and Shore temples respectively, so mere size does not denote great antiquity. We have seen in the last chapter how very elaborate the lingas became during the Rājasimha period, and I see no reason why the highly ornamental linga in the Gudimallam temple should be assigned to a period earlier than the eighth or ninth century. On the strength of the resemblance between the Rākshasa carved on the base of the linga and similar figures found in Buddhist art, the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao assumed that the temple dates back to the second or third century A.D. However, the style of the little apsidal-ended temple with its waggon-headed roof, in which this remarkable linga is enshrined, clearly shows that the original building cannot be earlier than the ninth century and belongs to the same period as the Oragadam temple.

We are told in the inscriptions that the temple was completely rebuilt in the twelfth century. The plan and section of the temple given in Plate XII,

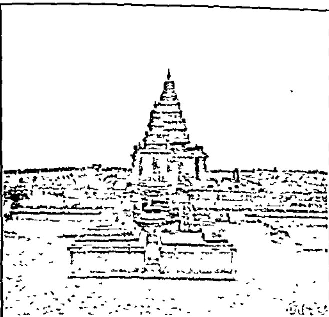
show that this statement is not true. The brick and plaster roof over the little apsidal-ended shrine chamber was doubtless repaired and redecorated with stucco figures and ornamentation in the Chōla style, but otherwise, the original building remained intact. What really happened with regard to the so-called rebuilding was this. A big hall or mandapa 24 feet square, with a flat terraced roof supported in the centre by four pillars and a doorway on the south side, was built in front of the entrance into the original shrine causing the interior to be in total darkness. Not content with this unsightly addition, the temple was then surrounded by a procession path or prākāra covered by a flat roof and with an entrance portico on the south side. Owing to these additions, the only portion of the original building now visible from outside, is its roof (Plate X(c)). Before these additions were made in the twelfth century, the general appearance of the building was similar in all respects to that of the Oragadam temple shown in Plate IX(a)

Both the additions and inscriptions show that by the twelfth century, the temple had risen to fame in that part of the country, and the Brāhmans felt justified in enlarging it so as to accommodate the influx of visitors to the shrine, and at the same time, make the ritual performed within more elaborate and impressive by conducting it in semi-darkness. Another attraction, which must have occurred soon after the rebuilding of the temple, was the provision of handsome metal images of Siva and Ganēsa for processional purposes. At stated intervals the god comes out in procession, and as the chief object of worship in the shrine is usually a fixture, these metal images are carried in procession instead. The most important procession is usually the annual car festival when the god is taken round in a big wooden car through the main streets where his worshippers live and receives their worship and offerings at their very homes. A fine metal image of Ganēsa belonging to this temple, and which apparently from its style, dates back to Chōla times, is shown in Plate XIII(b).

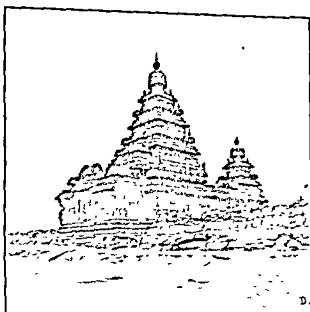
In the last chapter, it has been shown how the simple little square-celled shrine of the earlier period, in course of time, developed into a large building with a lofty spire, provided with numerous halls, procession paths and walled enclosures. The Gudimallam temple shows that this type of temple, too, eventually went through the same process, the cause of the change being the same in both cases. This last example of Pallava architecture brings this work to a close. So far as we know, the Pallavas who were originally Buddhists, were the first builders of Brāhmanical temples in Southern India, but their successors, the Chōlas, were the greatest temple-builders in the south, about 80 per cent. of the ancient temples still existing being erected in their time. As might be expected, the early Chōla temples are similar to the later Pallava buildings both in style and plan, but the Chōlas eventually developed a style of their own quite distinct from that of the Pallavas.

INDEX.

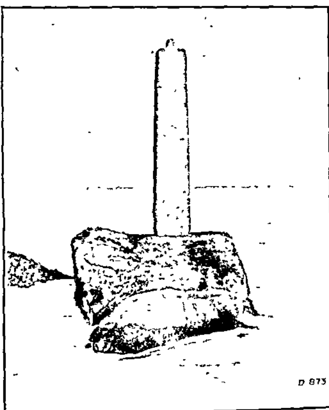
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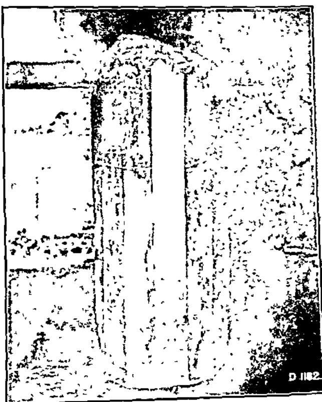
(a) THE SHORE TEMPLE (WEST SIDE).



(b) THE SHORE TEMPLE (EAST SIDE).



(c) LAMP PILLAR.

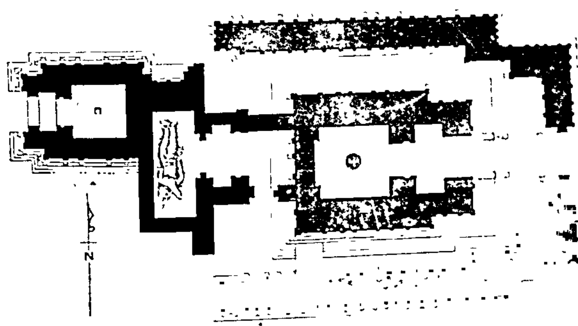


(d) BROKEN LINGA IN THE SHORE TEMPLE.

Ground

A H Longhurst'/27

SECTION.

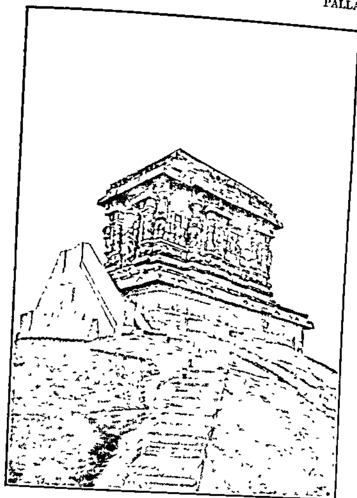


PLAN

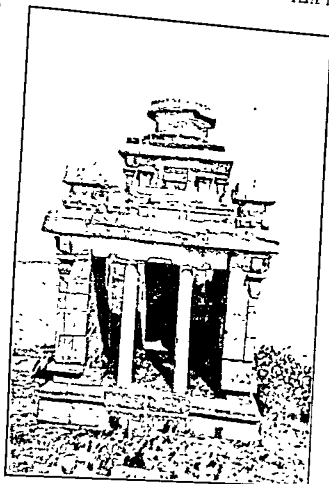
Scale of 5 0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 Feet

[illegible] Temple, Mahabalipuram.

(a) CARVED PANELS ON THE ENCLOSURE WALL OF THE SHORE TEMPLE.



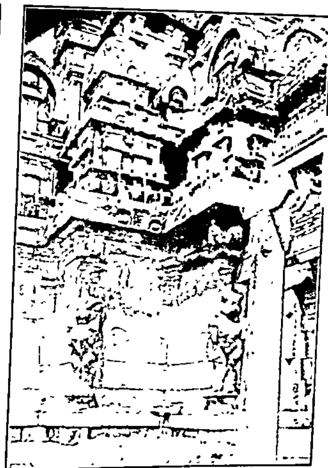
(a) ISVARA TEMPLE.



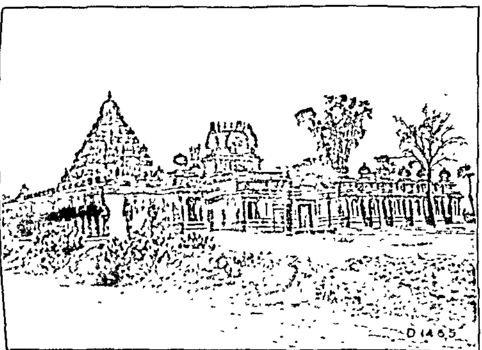
(b) MUKUNDA NAYANAR TEMPLE.



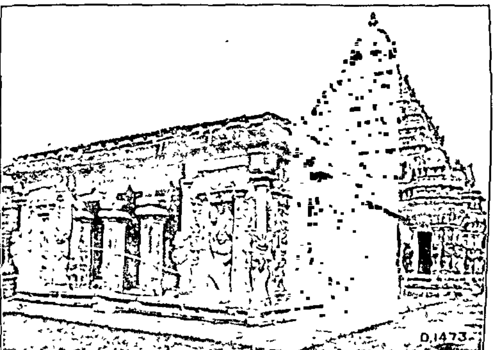
(c) PANAMALAI TEMPLE, GENERAL VIEW.



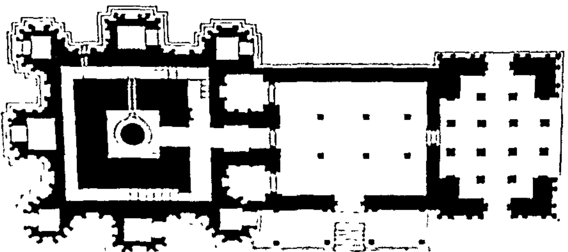
(d) PANAMALAI TEMPLE, DETAILS OF CORNICE.

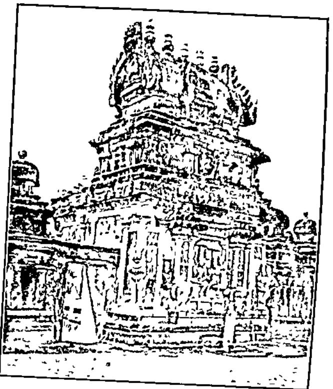


(a) Kailasanatha Temple, Conjeeveram, General view.

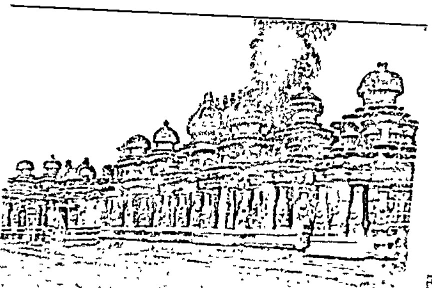


(b) Kailasanatha Temple, Central Shrine and Mandapa.

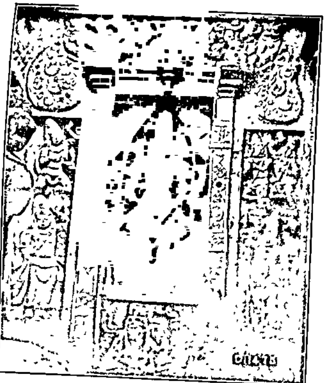




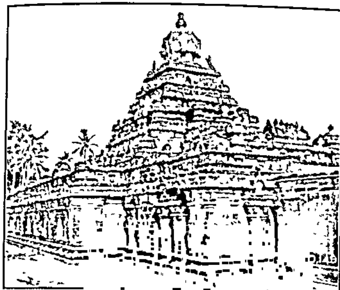
(a) Detail of Plaster Figures representing Lingodbhava.



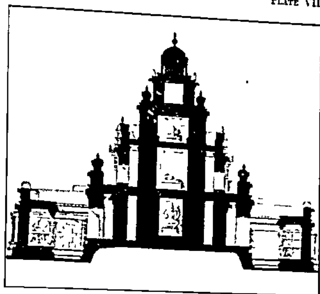
(b) Mahendravarmesvara Temple, back view.



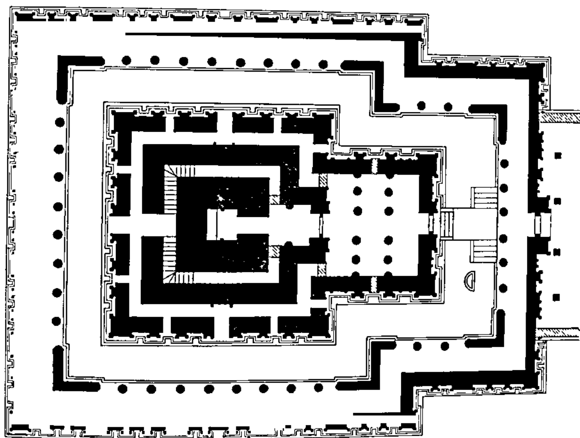




(*a*) VAIKUNTHA TEMPLE, CONJEEVERAM.



(*b*) VAIKUNTHA TEMPLE, SECTION THROUGH CENTRAL SHRINE.

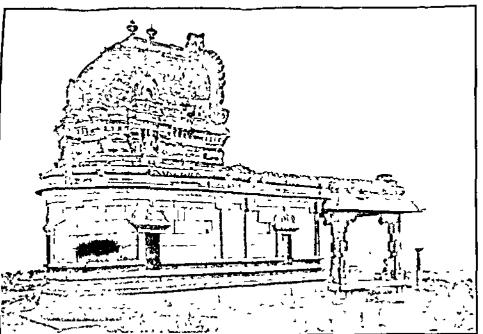


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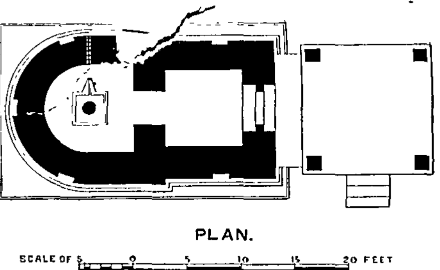
(*c*) VAIKUNTHA TEMPLE, PLAN

(a) MUKTÊSVARA TEMPLE, CONJEEVERAM.

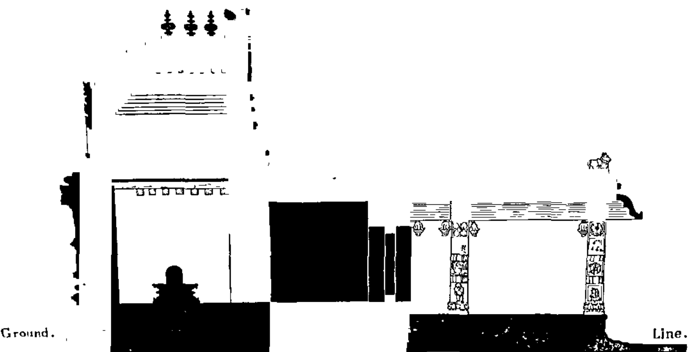
(b) MATANGÊSVARA TEMPLE, CONJEEVERAM.



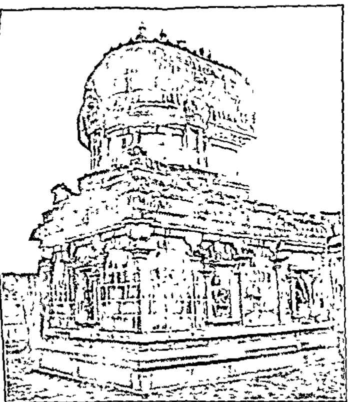
(a) Vadamallisvara Temple, Oragadum.



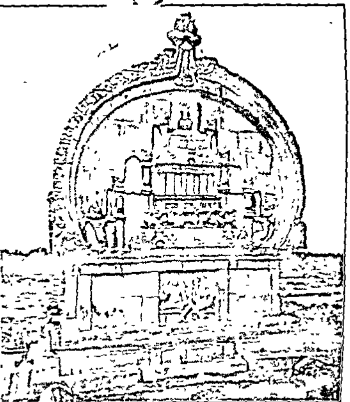
(b) Vadamallisvara Temple.



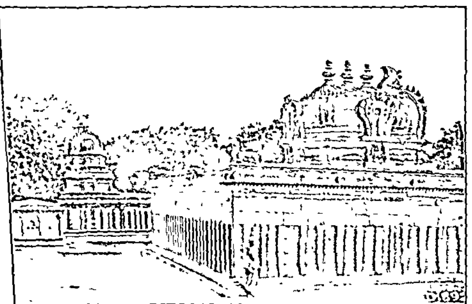
(c) Vadamallisvara Temple.



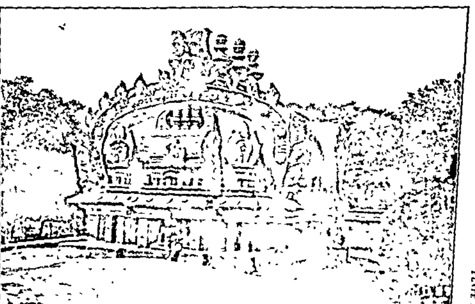
(a) Tiruttani Temple, General View.



(b) Tiruttani Temple, Gable end.



(c) Gudimallam Temple, Central Shrine.

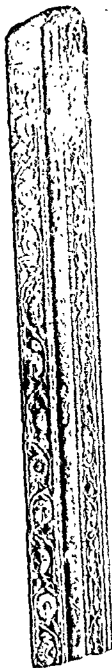


(d) Gudimallam [illegible]

INSCRIBED DOOR JAMB IN THE MATHURA MUSEUM OF ARCHÆOLOGY



a. INSCRIBED SIDE



b. SCULPTURED SIDE

PALLAVA ARCHITECTURE.

I.—HISTORY.

THE origin of the Pallava dynasty and that of their name has been a subject for controversy for some years, and the attempts made to throw light on it have not made the mystery less impenetrable. That the Pallavas became a great power in Southern India in the sixth and seventh centuries, and that they contributed a great deal to the growth first of Buddhism and then of Hinduism, and to South Indian architecture, sculpture and painting, are well known. But we have yet to find out who they were and whence they came.

During the last few years, a considerable amount of material relating to the above subject has been collected and published in the various epigraphical journals and official reports but being scattered through a number of different publications the information recorded is not readily accessible to the educated public. The late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya of the Archæological Survey of India, and Mr. G Jouveau-Dubreuil, Professor of the Pondicherry College, have done more than any other scholars to work out a plausible history of this elusive dynasty, and the brief historical account given here is taken mainly from Mr. Venkayya's article on *The Pallavas*, appearing in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1906-07*, and from Mr. Jouveau-Dubreuil's two recently published little books—*The Pallavas* and *Pallava Antiquities* Mr Jouveau-Dubreuil has been, perhaps, rather more successful than previous scholars in collecting material for this interesting subject, because he is the first epigraphist in India to realize the importance of studying the architecture of a monument as well as its inscriptions. His original researches in this direction are most valuable and throw quite a new light on the manner in which inscriptions should be studied in future.

The old theory that the word *Pallava* is apparently the Sanskrit form of the tribal name *Pahlava* or *Pahnava* of the Purānas, a Pārthian tribe whose territory lay somewhere between the Indus and Persia, is no longer accepted by present day scholars, and it seems more likely that the Pallavas were a tribe, clan or caste, which was formed in the northern part of the Madras Presidency, possibly in the Vēngī country, between the Krishnā and Gōdāvari rivers Mr. Venkayya informs us that they were Kshatriyas originally, but gradually became degraded by their omission of the sacred rites and transgressing the authority of the Brāhmanas The admission that they did not conform to Brāhmanical practices seems to indicate that they were either foreigners, or else became Buddhists or Jains If the tribe was formed in the Vēngī country as suggested by the late Dr. Vincent S[illegible] in his *Early History of India*, page 423, the formation must have taken place [illegible]rly times because this part of the Telugu country was included in the [illegible] Andhras, so if the clan was actually formed there, the process must have co[illegible] before the Andhra dynasty came to an end about 236 A. D In fact, the Palla[illegible] ve acquired a distinct political status even while the Andhras were in

power. This they appear to have done not by conquest but by contracting marriages with Āndhra princesses and thus inherited a portion of the southern part of the Āndhra country.

We know that in the second century, the Āndhra king Pulumāvi II embellished the famous white marble stūpa at Amarāvatī on the southern bank of the Krishnā river, and that the Pallavas were the political successors of the Āndhras in that district shortly after this event. What position these early Pallavas occupied under the Āndhras and in what particular circumstances they rose into supreme power are questions which cannot be answered at present, but there is every reason to believe that future historians will eventually be able to give a fairly complete narrative of the doings of the Pallava rulers and lay open the secret of their origin.

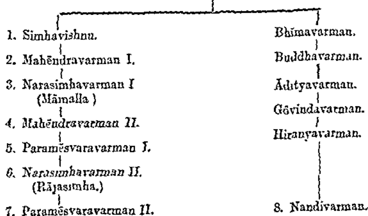
Referring to two Pallava copper-plate grants in the *Epigraphia Indica, Volume XV*, page 246, Mr. Krishna Sastri tells us that:—"Three, and sometimes even four, distinct periods of Pallava history are recognized, the earliest covering roughly two centuries, *viz.*, the 3rd and the 4th and the next roughly the 5th and part of the 6th century A. D. The third or rather the third and fourth periods together, extended from the latter part of the 6th down to almost the end of the 9th century A. D., when the kingdom proper of the Pallavas, *viz.*, the Tonda-mandalam was conquered by the Chōlas of Tanjore. The continuity of the line during these several periods has not been clearly established. The rulers of the last dynasty of Pallavas down from the time of Simhavishnu were distinguished as the first builders of lithic monuments in Southern India, the bitter opponents of the progress of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmī in the south, and the establishers of Pallava power in the heart of the Chōla country. These facts have been practically settled and have been derived from their own copper-plates, the copper-plate records of the contemporaneous Western Chālukyas and the Pallava stone inscriptions found pretty largely in Southern India." The earliest copper-plate records of the Pallava kings are all in the Prākrit language and have been assigned to a period not much later than those of the Āndhras of the 2nd and 3rd centuries of the Christian era. These are:—(1) The Mayidavōlu plates of Siva-Skandavarman, (2) The Hirehadagalli plates of the same king, and (3) the British Museum plates of Chārudēvī. The earliest record of these early Pallavas is that of Siva-Skandavarman, issued while the latter was yet a crown-prince, and is dated from his capital at Kānchī, now the modern town of Conjeeveram in the Chingelput district, and is addressed to his Viceroy at Dhannakada (Amarāvatī) in the Āndhra country. The next is a record of the same king after his accession to the throne and is also dated from Conjeeveram. It refers to the grant of a village in Sātāhani-Rattha, a territorial division located in the Bellary district. The mention of this territory in this record of about the 3rd century and of Sātavaghanihara in an Āndhra record of the 2nd century A. D., recently discovered in the Bellary district, not only indicates the possible identification of the two territorial divisions, but infers the political succession of the Āndhras by the Pallavas of Kānchī. The British Museum plates belong to the same early period and is a record of queen Chārudēvī, the wife of the crown-prince Vijaya-Buddhavarman and mother of Buddhyankura. It comes from the Guntur district and is dated in the reign of Vijaya-Skandavarman, who was evidently the grand-father of prince Buddhyankura and the ruling sovereign at the

time of the grant. The record does not inform us of the relationship between Vijaya-Skandavarman and Siva-Skandavarman. These three ancient Prākrit grants show that there was a time when the court language in Southern India was Prākrit, also that the Pallavas were the political successors of the Āndhras and had their capital at Conjeeveram and that their kingdom at that period roughly included the Tonda-mandalam and the Āndhra country right up to the river Krishnā, including the Bellary district in the west.

The later Pallava records are written in Sanskrit and some of them give a genealogy of the earlier generations of the Pallava family, but they are mostly very confusing and difficult to understand. One great difficulty about fixing the dates of these records is, that so many Pallava princes had not only the same name but also the same epithets, which makes it almost impossible to know exactly which prince is referred to in the inscriptions. The age when the kings who issued the Sanskrit charters flourished is not known. But approximately, they may be assigned to about the 5th century and continued down to almost the beginning of the 7th century A. D.

Pallava history up to this period has to be reconstructed solely from copper-plate records, as no stone monuments of the period have been discovered. Anterior to the 7th century A. D. Indian builders and sculptors appear to have been engaged exclusively in erecting monuments for the Buddhists and Jains. If any Hindu temples were erected before this period they must have been built of wood or some other perishable material, because no trace of such buildings has hitherto been discovered.

With the beginning of the seventh century we enter a period of Pallava history for which the records are more numerous and the chronology is not altogether a field of conjecture and doubt. The earliest stone monuments of Southern India belong to this period. In fact, the history of Hindu Architecture in Southern India may be said to begin with the reign of the Pallava king Mahēndravarman I (610 to 640 A. D.). Mahēndra was the son of a Pallava king named Simhavishnu who reigned in the latter part of the sixth century. We know very little about Simhavishnu and the relationship which the Pallava kings of this series bore to the earlier dynasty is nowhere explained, though four of the latter are mentioned among the ancestors of the former in a Pallava copper-plate charter of the eighth century. The following is the pedigree of this line of Pallava kings, as given by the late Mr. Venkayya :—



The earliest king of this series is Simhavishnu who claims to have vanquished the Malaya, Kalabhra, Mālava, Chōla and Pāndya kings, " the Simhala king proud of the strength of his arms " and the Kēralas. From this it would appear that the Chōla country did not belong to the Pallavas before the reign of Simhavishnu and that it was he who conquered it. It must have been a difficult task since all the southern kings appear to have opposed him. His son and successor was Mahēndravarman I.

The Pallavas now engage in a deadly struggle against the Chālukyas of Bādāmī in the Bombay Presidency. The causes which brought about this long war are not stated, but the hostility between the two tribes became so intense, that each looked upon the other as its natural enemy. The history of this period consists mainly of the events of this war with the Chālukyas, which lasted for nearly a century and was the ultimate cause of the decline and fall of both the Pallavas and Western Chālukyas about the middle of the eighth century. The Chālukyan king Pulikēsin II of Bādāmi, who was Mahēndra's contemporary, ascended the throne in 609 A. D. and soon overcame the great Harsavardhana of Kanauj. He then turned his arms against the south. Pishtapura, the modern Pithāpuram in the Gōdāvari district, was the first to fall. Then Pulikēsin drove the Pallavas out of their northern province, advanced far into the Pallava country and even threatened their capital. It is stated, with regard to this event, that " Pulikēsin subsequently caused the splendour of the lord of the Pallavas, who had opposed the rise of his power, to be obscured by the dust of his army and to vanish behind the walls of Kānchīpuram."

This invasion of the Pallava kingdom is indirectly admitted by Mahēndravarman I, who claims to have defeated the Chālukyas at Pullalūra near Kānchipuram, when the enemy were driven back and the capital saved. However, after this event the Chālukyas permanently occupied the northern province of the Pallava dominions, and Vishnuvardhana, the younger brother of Pulikēsin II, who was probably sent out as governor of the newly acquired province, eventually established himself at Vēngī and started the Eastern Chālukya dynasty sometime before 632 A. D.

The Telugu attributes appearing in some of the Pallava inscriptions found in cave-temples excavated during the reign of Mahēndravarman I, seem to indicate that Mahēndra ruled his empire from the Telugu country, at least at the beginning of his reign. He could not have done so for long because we know that by the middle of the seventh century, this country was in the hands of the Chālukyas. It is, therefore, likely that Pulikēsin II conquered it about 610 A. D., that is, at the very beginning of Mahēndra's reign. It is probable that this defeat and loss of his dominions in the north led Mahēndra to extend his territory in the south. At any rate, no Pallava monument has been found anterior to the seventh century A. D. in the Tamil country.

Like the great Asoka, Mahēndra had occasion to change his religion. He was at first a Jaina, but was afterwards converted to the cult of the linga by the saint called Appar or Tirunāvukkaraiyār, who was first persecuted and then patronised by Mahēndravarman I (*Epigraphia Indica, Volume III, page 278*). The two great Saiva devotees Appar and Tirunānasambandar were contemporaries of the two Pallava kings Mahēndra and his son Narasimhavarman I. Having once adopted Saivism, Mahēndra

lost no time in giving a new impulse to that religion in the Tamil country by excavating a number of imperishable rock-cut Siva temples in the Kānchīpuram district Other inscriptions show that he was a poet and a musician, a soldier and a good administrator, and he also constructed several useful irrigation tanks in his kingdom Mahēndravarman I may be regarded as one of the greatest figures in the history of Tamil civilization and the founder of Hindu architecture in Southern India.

It would appear that Mahēndra got his taste for rock-cut temples from the Buddhists who lived in the Telugu country at the beginning of his reign, when he himself appears to have lived for a while in that part of his dominions. The rock-cut temples at Bezwada, Mogalrājapuram, and Undavalli, all belong to this same period and are similar in style to some of the rock-cut temples in the Tamil country, which we know for certain were excavated by Mahēndra's orders. The Bezwada temples possess no ancient inscriptions, but their architectural style proclaims them to be Pallava monuments of the seventh century, and it is just possible that they may have been started by Mahēndra himself before he was forced to retire to the south, as mentioned above

Mr. Jouveau-Dubreuil is of opinion that the Bezwada and Undavalli temples were excavated by the Vishnukundins (*The Pallavas, pages 33, 35*), who seem to have ruled on the banks of the Krishnā and Gōdāvari towards the end of the sixth century, and at a time when the Pallavas reigned over the adjacent districts of Nellore and Guntur Thus they were neighbours, and it is possible that the Pallavas may have learned the art of excavating temples out of the rock from the Vishnukundins, but there is no proof *at present that this was the case, and until we know more about the Vishnukundins* and their monuments, we may assume, on purely architectural grounds, that the Bezwada cave-temples are Pallava monuments of the early part of the seventh century.

Mahēndravarman I was succeeded by his son Narasimhavarman I in the second quarter of the seventh century. Narasimhavarman I was surnamed Māmalla or Mahāmalla and he founded the seacoast town of Māmallapuram, now the modern village of Mahabalipuram in the Chingleput district, and popularly known as the Seven Pagodas. He retrieved the fortunes of the family by repeatedly defeating the Chōlas, Keralas, Kalabhras and Pāndyas. He made war on the Chālukyas and actually captured Vātāpi (Bādāmi), their capital. This claim of his is established by an inscription found at Bādāmi in the Bombay Presidency in which he bears the title Mahāmalla (*Indian Antiquary, Volume IX, page 100*). The capture of Bādāmi by the Pallavas has been assigned to the year 642 A. D. The Pallavas probably held the territory during the time of Narasimhavarman I, his son Mahēndravarman II, and during the early part of the reign of the latter's son and successor, Paramēsvaravarman I The last named king is said to have defeated the Chālukyan king Vikramāditya I, at Peruvalanallūr and put his army to flight. On the other hand, Vikramaditya I claims to have 'received by surrender the town of Kānchipuram after defeating the lord of the Pallavas who had been the cause of the humiliation and destruction of his family ' Apparently as a result of this victory the Kurnool district, which originally belonged to the Pallavas, passed into the hands of the Chālukyas. Two copper-plate records of Vikramāditya and two of his son Vinayāditya have been discovered in this district Paramēsvaravarman's

son and successor was Narasimhavarman II, surnamed Rājasimha, *i.e.*, 'Lion of Kings.' Rājasimha was an ardent devotee of Siva and seems to have spent most of his time in building Siva temples and bestowing gifts on the Brāhmans. Previous to Rājasimha's reign, all Pallava monuments were monolithic rock-cut memorials but those erected by Rājasimha were structural buildings built of stone and brick. He thus introduced a new style of Pallava architecture which may be called the style of Rājasimha, so as to distinguish it from the earlier rock-cut styles of Mahēndra and Māmalla.

Rājasimha built the central shrine of the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeeveram, and his son Mahēndravarman III seems to have completed the work. Paramēsvaravarman II, another son of Rājasimha, constructed the Vaikuntha Perumāl temple at Conjeeveram. The death of the latter is mentioned in an inscription engraved on the wall of the verandah running round the central shrine of this building (*South Indian Inscriptions, Volume II, page 344*). The events which took place after his death are depicted in bas-relief panels on the walls of the same verandah. A dispute about the succession to the throne after his death seems to have occurred and Nandivarman, a cousin of Paramēsvaravarman II, was chosen by the subjects as their king. It is clear that at this period internal dissensions had set in in the Pallava family. The Chālukyas of Bādāmi were not slow to take advantage of this unsettled state of the Pallava country and Vikramāditya II, grandson of Vinayāditya, having 'resolved to uproot completely his natural enemy, the Pallava, who had robbed of their splendour the previous kings born from his race, reached with great speed Tonda-mandalam, attacked at the head of battle and put to flight the Pallava called Nandipōtavarman (Nandivarman), who had come to meet him.' The city of Kānchīpuram was captured by the enemy.

The late Mr. Venkayya commenting on this defeat of the Pallavas says: 'The procedure adopted by Vikramāditya after the capture of the Pallava capital shows that the frequent wars waged in India by ancient kings against one another did not much affect either the country or the peaceful inhabitants. In fact, the atrocities of later Indian warfare were unknown in early times. It is said of Vikramāditya that though he took Kānchīpuram, he did not destroy it and that, 'having made the twice-born, the distressed and the helpless rejoice by continual gifts, he acquired great merit by granting heaps of gold to the Kailāsanātha and other temples in the city.'

This crushing defeat of the Pallavas by the Chālukyas seems to have dealt the death blow to the sovereignty of the former. Thus the history of the Pallavas emphasises the oft-repeated lesson of history that, when internal dissensions set in, the decline and disappearance of a dynasty are only a matter of time. Strangely enough, their rivals, the Western Chālukyas also ceased to be the ruling power in the west about the same time as Pallava ascendancy came to an end in the south.

Nandivarman is said to have reigned for about fifty years, among his later successors being Aparājita, who vanquished the Pāndya king, Varaguna II, at the battle of Sri Purambiya, but was himself overcome by the Chōla king Aditya I, about the end of the ninth century. From that time Pallava supremacy finally passed away and was

transferred to the Chōlas, who brought all the southern kingdoms under their control during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

At this period, Pallava architecture ceases to exist as a separate style and merges into that of the Chōlas.

II.—RELIGION.

The numerous important Buddhist remains at Amarāvatī, Guntapalli Anakapalli, Rāmatīrtham and other places in the northern part of the Madras Presidency, and the Jaina monuments in the southern districts, show that these two creeds flourished side by side in the seventh century A. D and were in fact, the prevailing religions of the country at that period. Although it is probable that some of the Pallava kings were either Jainas or Buddhists, such names as Siva-Skandavarman and Skandavarman borne by some of the earlier kings, appear to show that some of them were Saivas at a very early date. The fact that they had the bull for their crest and the club (*khatvānga*) for their banner corroborates this. On the other hand some of the kings who issued the Sanskrit charters were probably adherents of the Vaishnava faith as indicated by such names as Simhavishnu, Vishnugōpa, etc The fact that some of the Pallava Siva temples contain images of Vishnu along with the lingas shows that both deities were worshipped with equal veneration and that the Pallavas must have been wonderfully free from religious bigotry

After Mahēndravarman I became converted to Saivism by the saint Appar as related above, he excavated a number of cave-temples and dedicated all of them, except one, to Siva. The one exception is the temple at Mahēndravādi which was dedicated to Vishnu Although apparently at first a Jaina, it is stated that after he became converted to the cult of the linga, Mahēndra demolished the Jaina monastery at Patalipputtiram, a seat of Jaina learning in the South Arcot district, and built a Siva temple on the spot. As a Jaina he is also said to have persecuted the Saivas and the saint Appar in particular. However, be this as it may, he evidently did not persecute the Vaishnavas nor the Buddhists ; for the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang who visited Kānchīpuram about the end of Mahēndra's reign, says with regard to the religious condition of the Pallava country—" There are some hundreds of Buddhist monasteries and ten thousand priests. They all study the teaching of the Sthavira School belonging to the Great Vehicle. There are some eighty Dēva temples and many heretics called Nirgranthas." Even at the present day, there are sufficient Buddhist antiquities surviving at Conjeeveram to testify to the truth of Hiuen Tsiang's statement.

Mahēndra's son and successor, Narasimhavarman I, surnamed Māmalla, was just as zealous a devotee of Siva as his father had been before him This is exemplified by the wonderful group of temples at the Seven Pagodas, most of which are dedicated to Siva and were excavated during Māmalla's reign.

Narasimhavarman II, surnamed Rājasimha, was equally devout and built a number of structural temples in honour of Siva at Māhabalipuram, Conjeeveram and Panamalai in the South Arcot district. In fact Rājasimha appears to have devoted his whole life to temple building and bestowing gifts upon the Brāhmans.

The result of Buddhism flourishing alongside of this revival of Saivism, was that early Hindu architecture became strongly influenced by the older art of the Buddhists.

III.—ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTER.

The architectural character of early Pallava monuments is simple and severe but indicative of great strength and durability. Being excavated in the natural rock, the temples of the earlier period have but one external facade which is in the face of the rock, and therefore, the architecture is mainly internal. In most styles of architecture, we can generally distinguish three distinct periods, an early period, an intermediate period and a late period. Since the style of one period naturally merges into that of the next, the line of demarcation is not always well defined in the intermediate period, but the difference between the early and late periods is always apparent. The classification of Pallava monuments is a comparatively simple matter, as the differentiation is unusually well marked in each period. In the first place, all the earlier Pallava monuments are rock-cut cave-temples with only one external facade cut in the face of the rock. Secondly, monuments of the intermediate period, although all are monolithic, comprise free-standing rock-cut temples commonly known as *rathas* as well as cave-temples. The latter possess certain features which are not found in the cave-temples of the earlier period. Thirdly, monuments belonging to the late period are structural buildings built of stone and brick.

All of the earlier Pallava cave-temples were excavated during the reign of Mahēndravarman I, in the early part of the seventh century and may, therefore, be said to belong to the Mahēndra period. Those belonging to the intermediate period were mostly cut out of the rock in the reign of Māmalla during the latter half of the seventh century and, therefore, belong to the Māmalla period. The structural monuments of the later period were started by Rājasimha at the beginning of the eighth century and thus belong to the style of Rājasimha. There is also a still later style than that of Rājasimha, dating from about 800 to 900 A. D., which may be called the style of Nandivarman. There are very few temples in this last-named style as at this period we find Pallava architecture losing its identity and merging into the Chōla style.

We may, therefore, adopt the following classification, and divide the history of Pallava architecture into four styles :—

(1) *Mahēndra style,* 610 to 640 A. D.
(2) *Māmalla style,* 640 to 674 A. D.
(3) *Rājasimha style,* 674 to 800 A. D.
(4) *Nandivarman style,* 800 to 900 A. D.

This division of Pallava architecture applies chiefly to the country lying immediately round Kānchīpuram, *i.e.,* Tonda-mandalam. Further south, between Tanjore and Pudukkottai for example, Pallava architecture was influenced by the neighbouring cultures of the Pandyas and the Chōlas. However, as all the most important groups of Pallava monuments are situated in the districts around Kānchīpuram, the classification of style defined above will serve all practical purposes in studying the art and architecture of the Pallavas.

(1) *Mahēndra style*.—All monuments in this style are subterranean rock cut excavations usually known as cave-temples. They have but one external facade which is in the face of the rock. On plan, the temple consists of a rectangular pillared hall with a small square shrine chamber excavated in one of the side walls. As a rule, the shrine faces the east or the west, usually the latter. With the exception of the Vishnu temple at Mahēndravādi, all are dedicated to Siva and originally contained stone lingas or images of that deity. The lingas were large and cylindrical in shape, highly polished and mounted on yoni pedestals of the usual kind. The shrine chamber is free from all ornament within, but usually has a *dvārapāla*, or doorkeeper carved in high relief standing on each side of the entrance into the sanctum. The external ends of the facade are also often provided with figures of doorkeepers, one at each end protecting the outer entrance. Some of these figures are very large and have a characteristic pose which is somewhat different to that of the doorkeepers of the later periods. They generally stand facing the spectator, in rather an aggressive attitude with one hand resting on a huge club. Others have one hand raised to the head in the act of adoration.

A very characteristic feature of temples in this style is the type of pillar found in them. These are about two feet square in section and about seven feet in height. The upper and lower portions are cubical, while the middle portion of the shaft has the angles bevelled off, which makes the middle third octagonal in section. Sometimes the cubical portions are decorated with a conventional lotus flower design similar to the lotus medallions appearing on the stone rails of the Amarāvatī stūpa. The capitals of the pillars are simple corbels or brackets supporting the architrave above. The lower or underside of the bracket is rounded upwards and sometimes decorated with horizontal rows of roll ornament. Each pillar has a corresponding side pilaster.

The cornice of the facade and that over the shrine doorway when decorated, usually takes the form of a heavy projecting convex moulding decorated with the Buddhist *gable-window ornament*. This ornament simulates a *miniature barrel-vaulted roof* decorated with little horse-shoe-shaped gable-windows. Human heads are portrayed peering through the windows and the gables have large flat-headed finials shaped like garden spades. [Plate I (*a*).]

Another Buddhist feature that is sometimes met with in early Pallava monuments is the Buddhist rail ornament. Floriated *toranas* or arches, are also sometimes depicted in bas-relief, spanning an entrance or as an ornament over a niche containing an image. [Plate II (*b*).]

The floor of the temple is usually raised a few feet above the natural ground-level and approached by a flight of rock-cut steps. In many cases the steps have been left unfinished, indicating that this work was always left to the last. When inscriptions occur in these temples, they are generally to be found engraved on the pillars or along the architrave of the facade.

(2) *Māmalla style*.—The monuments in this style are of three kinds :—Cave-temples, monolithic free-standing temples commonly known as *rathas* and rock sculptures. The

cave temples are excavated in the face of the rock in the same manner as those belonging to the earlier period but their facades are usually more ornamental and contain pillars of a different variety. On plan, the interiors are much the same as those of the cave-temples in the Mahēndra style, with similar small square shrine chambers cut in the back well, which are usually free from ornament within. The pillared hall in front of the shrine often contains large panels cut in the side walls filled with sculptural figures in high relief. These are usually of great beauty and executed with remarkable skill. The interior too, of the more ornamental cave temples is provided with cornice and plinth mouldings. The cornice is decorated with the Buddhist gable-window ornament often with a frieze of sacred geese below it and the plinth with two or three flat horizontal bands or mouldings running all round the base of the hall.

The most striking feature about the Māmalla style is the curious shape of the pillars. The square heavy pillars with corbel capitals of the earlier period are replaced by pillars of a more elegant shape and better proportion. The base of the pillar is carved in the shape of a conventional lion sitting very erect and carrying the shaft of the column on the top of its head. The shaft is still octagonal in section but of better proportion and crowned with a bulbous capital having a flat abacus. Between the capital and the architrave is usually a double bracket supporting the cornice. This latter feature is obviously a stone copy of a wooden model.

The so-called *rathas* are rock-cut models of structural temples chiefly of timber construction. They vary in style and on plan but are decorated in the same manner as the cave-temples of this period. They will be described in detail later on.

The rock sculptures are large bas-relief sculptural scenes carved on the face of a cliff standing in the open air and are different to those within the temples. There are only three or four examples of this type of monument, all of which are situated at the Seven Pagodas.

The earliest sculptural representations of Indian deities are usually portrayed as ordinary mortals with only one pair of arms. As a rule, additional heads and limbs denote a later period, but there are exceptions to this rule, as we find images of Siva with four arms at the very beginning of Hindu art in the seventh century. The big image of Siva in the Trichinopoly cave-temple is an example of this. We know from the inscription in this temple that this image was carved at the same time as the rest of the temple and is not a later addition. But images of the minor deities and figures of doorkeepers are usually portrayed with only one pair of arms. In later times they are portrayed with four arms. Sacred symbols, such as the *sankha* (conch) and *chakra* (discus) are represented in early Indian art without flames of fire issuing from their sides. In later art (after 800 A. D.) these symbols are decorated with flames of fire. Figures of the gods and ordinary mortals portrayed in early Indian art are of much better proportion and more dignified and lifelike than those of the later period. The early Indian sculptors took Nature as their model and were not handicapped in expressing their ideals by a set of conventional rules of art like those laid down in the *Silpa Sastras*, which were strictly followed to the detriment of Indian art by the sculptors and builders of later times.

One of the most interesting points about monuments in the Māmalla style is, that the architectural details such as the pillars, architraves, cornices and the roofs of the *rathas*, show unmistakably that these monuments are stone models of structural buildings mainly of timber construction. The brackets, joists, rafters, and cross beams that would be required in a half-timbered construction are all laboriously reproduced in stone without the slightest structural advantage being gained. This clearly shows that ordinarily, the masons who produced these rock-cut temples, were accustomed to erect structural buildings of half-timbered construction. The pillars and frame-work being of timber with the interstices filled with brick and plaster, while the ornamentation was in stucco and wood-carving. It was no doubt the perishable nature of such structures which led the masons to reproduce these buildings in stone when ordered to erect everlasting memorials in honour of their religion and to the greatness of their kings. It is only the religious monuments which are executed in stone. No remains of palaces, public buildings or domestic architecture have been discovered and yet we know that such buildings must have existed at this period.

Examples of the Māmalla style are only found at the Seven Pagodas. It will be remembered that it was Māmalla who founded Māmallapuram, naming the town after himself. Although most of the monuments there may be said to be in the Māmalla style, it is quite certain that all of them could not possibly have been excavated during his life-time, as the work must have taken over a century and even then was never finished. Therefore, we may presume that Māmalla's son and successor Mahēndravarman II, and also the latter's son Paramēsvaravarman I, carried on the work begun by Māmalla, keeping more or less to the original style. Being rock cut monuments their orientation was somewhat a matter of chance and not of choice perhaps, but most of them face the east or the west usually the latter. A few were dedicated to Vishnu but most of them are dedicated to Siva and his consort Pārvati the latter sometimes in the form of Dūrga. Several of the temples were dedicated to Siva in the form of Sōmaskanda and these have a panel or niche carved in the back or west wall of the sanctum immediately behind the linga and facing the east. This panel contains a bas-relief sculpture representing Siva and Pārvati seated on a pedestal with the child Skānda between them. Sometimes Brahma and Vishnu are depicted at the back of the panel as attendants on Siva.

As a rule, the interior of the shrine of a Hindu temple is not decorated. It is only in these Pallava temples dedicated to Siva in the form of Sōmaskanda where this very unusual feature is found. Another uncommon feature about these Sōmaskanda temples is the style of the linga enshrined within them. Generally, the lingas of this period, like those of the Mahēndra period, are carved out of the local granite and cylindrical in shape, the shaft having a smooth polished surface. But the lingas in the Sōmaskanda temples are carved out of black basalt, specially imported from a distance for the purpose. The shaft of the linga is cut into eight or sixteen vertical facets which are generally slightly fluted and terminate in the centre of the crown of the linga. The fluting is highly polished. Some of these temples contain three lingas of this kind, each in a separate shrine, the one in the central shrine usually being the biggest. Perhaps they are meant to represent Siva, Pārvati and Skānda, as depicted in the panel

on the back wall described above. In all probability, the rock-cut Sōmaskanda temples at Māmallapuram were excavated at the end of the Māmalla period, possibly by Paramēsvaravarman I, because in the next period, we find the latter's son and successor, Rājasimha, introducing the same uncommon features in his structural Siva temples. With the close of Paramēsvaravarman's reign we come to the end of the history of rock-cut architecture in Southern India.

(3) *Rājasimha style.*—With the reign of this king we start a new epoch in the history of South Indian architecture. From this period onwards structural buildings alone are met with. Temples in the style of Rājasimha are built of stone with sometimes a brick superstructure covered in plaster and decorated in stucco. On plan, the shrine is a small square cella surrounded by a circumambulatory passage and faces the east. All Rājasimha temples are dedicated to Siva, presumably in the form of Sōmaskanda, since they all possess fluted basalt lingas and have the Sōmaskanda panel carved on the back wall of the shrine.

Externally, a lofty tower rising in tiers which diminish in size as they approach the summit, is built over the central shrine, in front of which is a small porch which leads into a large pillared hall or mandapa. Built up against the external walls of the central shrine, are usually three or more small attendant shrines containing fluted lingas. The bases of the pillars and the angles of the building are decorated with conventional lions mainly executed in stucco. The Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeeveram is one of the best examples of this style of Pallava architecture.

(4) *Nandivarman style.*—This style flourished during the second half of the ninth century and is a development of the apsidal-ended temple of the Māmalla period and similar in style to the Sahadēva temple at the Seven Pagodas. It is the intermediate style between the Rājasimha period and that of the Early Chōla. The lingas are cylindrical and generally smaller than those of the Māmalla period. The doorkeepers have four arms. The gable-window ornament is different in style to that of the earlier period. The pillars and angles of the building have no conventional lions. There is no Sōmaskanda panel in the sanctuary. The niches in the external walls of the sanctuary are generally filled with stone images carved in high relief or in the round. The upper portion of the temple is built of brick with the ornamentation in plaster.

IV.—EXAMPLES IN THE MAHĒNDRA STYLE.

(CIR. 610 TO 640 A.D.)

(1) *Dalavānūr.*—The village of Dalavānūr is at a distance of ten miles by road to the south-east of Gingee in the South Arcot district. It is noteworthy as containing one of the best rock-cut Pallava temples in the district. The temple is dedicated to Siva and is excavated in the southern face of a small granite hill lying to the north of the village and is known locally as the Pancha Pāndava Malai. The temple is no longer in use as a place of worship, although it still contains a stone linga. The facade faces the south but the little shrine containing the linga faces the east. The shrine chamber is 7′ 10″ long, 8′ 6″ wide and 6′ 10″ in height and the walls are free from ornamentation. It contains a cylindrical granite linga, 2′ 5″ in height and measuring 4′ 6″

in circumference. The linga is fixed in a yoni pedestal of the usual type which measures 6′ 2″ in length. Down the front of the linga two narrow vertical lines are cut in the stone. Both the linga and yoni pedestal are detached stones and are not monolithic like the rest of the temple and its ornamentation. Since the facade and entrance hall face the south [Plate I (a)] and in order that the linga should face the east, the little shrine chamber has been excavated in the west wall of the main hall with its doorway facing the east [Plate I (c)] On each side of this doorway are two doorkeepers or *dvārapālas* in high relief, one on each side of the entrance. They are standing figures facing the spectator, with lofty headdresses and each is shown with one hand raised to the head in the act of adoration [Plate II (a)] In front of the shrine are two pillars about two feet square in section with corbel capitals, rising seven feet in height from the floor and forming a little porch leading into the sanctuary The bracket capitals support cross beams carved out of the natural rock forming the roof over the main hall. The latter, including the little porch just mentioned, is a rectangular chamber measuring 21′ 10″ long, 19′ wide and is 8′ 10″ in height In the centre of the facade are two handsome pillars with corresponding pilasters at each end of the facade dividing the latter into three openings of equal size for admitting light and air into the interior of the temple The central opening forms the entrance and has an unfinished flight of steps leading up to it. The floor of the hall is about four feet above the level of the natural ground which tends to heighten the effect of the facade On each side of the two pilasters at the ends of the facade and facing the south, are two large crudely carved figures about six feet in height representing doorkeepers standing in large panels similar in shape to the three openings in the facade The one on the left or western end of the facade is depicted with the left hand raised in adoration, and is a similar figure to the one on the left side of the shrine doorway mentioned above The one on the eastern side of the facade is depicted resting the right hand on a huge club.

On the outer surface of the pilaster at the left end of the facade is an inscription written in the Sanskrit language in Grantha-Pallava letters, from which we learn that the temple was excavated by Mahēndra's orders (*vide Epigraphia Indica,* Part V, Volume XII, January 1914).

The cubical portions of the two pillars in the centre of the facade are decorated with conventional lotus flower medallions similar to those on the rails of the Amarāvati stūpa Above the main entrance and springing from the two corbel capitals is a bas-relief representation of a *makara-torana,* in which the two ends or volutes of the *torana* are shown emerging from the mouths of *makaras*. Above the *torana* running the entire length of the facade, is a heavy projecting convex cornice decorated with the Buddhist gable-window ornament. With the exception of the linga and the figures of the doorkeepers, the entire ornamentation is Buddhist in character.

(2) *Trichinopoly.*—Half way up the famous Trichinopoly rock and excavated in its southern face, is a fine example of a Pallava temple in the Mahēndra style. It is a particularly interesting example because it contains some very valuable inscriptions which prove beyond all doubt that it was excavated by Mahēndra's orders. The pillars of the facade contain a number of inscriptions written in the Grantha-Pallava alphabet (*vide South Indian Inscriptions,* Volume I, Nos. 33 and 34, pages 28 to 30).

This alphabet is very archaic and similar in style to the one employed in the inscriptions in the Pallāvaram temple. Engraved on the pilaster to the right of the sanctuary and at a spot which appears to have been selected for the principal inscription, is the following name " Sri Mahēndra-Vikrama, " exactly as in the Pallāvaram inscription. The pillars at the other end of the hall contain a number of names and *birudas*, among them, " Gunabhara," who is said to have had the temple excavated and placed within it a stone linga and a portrait image of himself. The inscription also records that the beautiful large sculptural panel facing the shrine entrance, representing Siva in the form of Gangādhāra, was also executed at the same time and is not a later addition.

It is now generally accepted that " Gunabhara " was a surname of Mahēndravarman I. One inscription (No. 33 above) states that—" Now that Gunabhara is a worshipper of the linga, let the knowledge that he has turned back from hostile conduct be spread far and wide by this linga." This evidently refers to Mahēndra's former persecution of the saint Appar, who afterwards converted him to the cult of the linga as already related above (*vide Epigraphia Indica*, Volume III, page 277).

The facade faces the south and is simple and severe in character [Plate I (*b*)]. It has four cubical pillars dividing the facade into five openings of equal size, with a second row of pillars inside the temple and in line with those of the facade. In style, the pillars are similar to those at Dalavānūr, but they have no bas-relief representation of a *torana* over the entrance and there is no ornamental cornice above the architrave of the facade. The cubical portions of the pillars are decorated with lotus flower medallions and floriated ornament similar in design to that appearing on the stone rails of the Amarāvati stūpa. The underside of the corbel capitals is decorated with roll ornament [Plate II (*c*)]. On plan, the temple consists of a rock-cut hall measuring 30′ 0″ in length, 15′ 0″ in width and 9′ 0″ in height. Cut into the east wall is a small sanctuary 7′ 10″ square and 7′ 0″ in height. The shrine faces the west. Cut in the centre of the floor of the sanctuary is a socket-hole, 2 feet square, for the reception of the linga, by the side of it is a second socket-ho'e 1 foot square, the latter being no doubt for the reception of the portrait image of Mahēndra mentioned in the inscription. The shrine is now empty. At one time, the temple was used as a powder magazine, presumably by the French, and the openings between the pillars of the facade were closed with brick walls, which have since been removed. Above the shrine doorway is a cornice decorated with the gable-window ornament and on each side of the entrance, carved in high relief and standing in a niche, is a figure of a doorkeeper leaning on a club [Plate II (*d*)]. Carved in the west wall of the hall and facing the shrine, is a large panel, about seven feet square, containing a fine image of Siva in the form of Gangādhāra, " the bearer of Gangā " (the Ganges). This form of Siva illustrates the Purānic story of the descent of the heavenly Ganges unto the earth to purify the ashes of the sinful sons of Sagara, a king of the Solar race. At the request of Bhagīratha, a late member of the same family, " the river of the gods " consented to direct her course to the earth, but her force was so great that the earth was unable to stand the shock. So Bhagīratha prayed to Siva and the latter consented to receive the Ganges on his head. The river, proud of her might, came down with all her force as though to crush Siva, but found herself lost in the tangled maze of Siva's tresses. Gangā then became humble and Siva permitted her to flow forth again from his

hair as a tiny stream. Since then the river goddess Gangā is believed to abide in Siva's hair as one of his consorts In the sculpture, Siva is portrayed with four arms, the right upper arm holding the Ganges issuing from his hair. The left upper arm holds some indistinguishable object, that may be meant for a rosary. The left lower arm rests on the left hip and the right lower arm holds a hooded serpent, the body of which is entwined round Siva's chest and right arms. Siva's right foot is raised and rests on the head of an ugly little dwarf who is shown holding up his puny arm to support the mighty foot of the god. Similar little dwarfs are common in Buddhist art and are employed in the same manner with regard to Buddha. In the form of Natarāja, Siva's right foot is usually portrayed as crushing a similar little demon dwarf, Musalagan or Apasmāra by name, but here Siva is not represented as crushing the dwarf and the latter is shown supporting the god's foot. Kneeling round the figure of Siva are four worshippers, and above are two *gandharvas* flying through the air and raising their hands in the act of adoration. On the right side of Siva's head, depicted as coming out of the clouds, is the head and bust of a little human figure with the hands raised in prayer On the other side is a small animal, presumably a deer, in a recumbent attitude The base of the panel is decorated with the Buddhist rail ornament similar in design to that found in the Amarāvati bas-reliefs in the Madras Museum [*vide* Frontispiece].

(3) *Mandagapattu* —The village of Mandagapattu is 6 miles south-west of Dalavānūr and 12 miles north-west of Villupuram railway station in the South Arcot district, Half a mile to the west of the village is a small granite hillock, in the northern face of which is excavated a Pallava temple with a facade similar in size and style to the Dalavānūr temple but with less ornamentation and with some difference as to plan The facade faces the north and has two square cubical pillars of the usual type in the centre, dividing the facade into three openings of equal size The pillars are free from ornament and the facade has no ornamental cornice. At the two ends of the facade are two large panels similar in shape and size to the three openings in the facade The one at the western end contains a large crudely carved figure in high relief of a standing *dvārapāla*, or doorkeeper, guarding the entrance on this side. The figure has the usual lofty headdress and stands facing the spectator in a very aggressive attitude The right arm rests on the hip and the left on a mighty club The figure is shown wearing the usual ornaments including two serpents or nāgas. The doorkeeper on the eastern side of the facade is similar to the one just described, except that the pose is different. It faces towards the entrance and thus presents only a side view to the spectator The floor of the temple stands about 4 feet above the natural level of the ground and, like so many of these early Pallava temples has no proper steps approaching the entrance. On plan the temple consists of a rectangular hall 22 feet in length, 24 feet in width and is 9 feet in height [Plate III (c)] The ceiling is supported with four square pillars with corresponding side pilasters. In the back or south wall facing the north, are three large niches 4 feet deep. Cut in the floor and against the back wall of each niche, is a square socket-hole, indicating that a stone image once stood in each niche, forming three separate shrines The position of the socket-holes clearly shows that images and not lingas stood in these shrines A mutilated inscription on the outside of one of the pillars records that the temple was dedicated to the three gods Brahma, Siva and Vishnu. The serpent ornaments worn by the doorkeeper indicate that the leading deity enshrined in it was Siva, whose image occupied the central niche.

The name of the Pallava king who ordered this temple to be excavated is mentioned in the inscription as Vichitrachitta, which we know is a *biruda* of Mahēndravarman I. The alphabet is much like that of the inscription at Dalavānūr, and as both temples are similar in style and are situated within a few miles of each other, we may assume that the Mandagapattu temple was also excavated during the reign of the great Mahēndravarman I.

(4) *Pallāvaram.*—The old village of Pallāvaram is situated 2 miles south of the modern village and railway station of that name in the Chingleput district. To the east of the station is a hill known locally as the Pancha Pāndava Malai in which had been excavated a rock-cut Pallava temple. It is now in the hands of the local Muhammadans who have converted it into a mosque by adding mud and plaster walls to the interior and covering the temple in numerous coatings of whitewash.

On plan [Plate III (*d*)] the temple is similar to the one at Mandagapattu and consists of a pillared hall 32 feet in length, 12½ feet in width and about 9 feet in height. Cut in the back wall are five niches about 2½ feet square. These must have originally contained stone lingas or images. The roof is supported by two rows of pillars of the usual cubical kind, each row containing four pillars. The facade has five openings of equal size and is free from all ornament. A flight of steps leads up to the central opening. The cornice is a heavy projecting convex moulding but without the usual gable-window ornament.

The plan and the style of the facade is very similar to the Mandagapattu temple but the Pallāvaram temple has no figures of doorkeepers like the former. The pillar on the right side of the entrance has the octagonal portion of the shaft at the bottom instead of in the middle like the other pillars. It is curious that the masons should have made this mistake. Presumably this feature is due to accident and not intentional, and spoils the appearance of the facade. The shape of the upper portion of the shaft shows that it is not a later addition. Engraved all along the architrave of the facade and also along that of the inner row of pillars, is an inscription which is made up of a series of names which are evidently titles or *birudas* of a Pallava king (*Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1909, Part II, No. 14, page 75*). It is noteworthy that the first name in the series is "Sri Mahēndra-Vikrama," the same name, in fact, as that which appears in the inscription in the Trichinopoly temple. The form of the letters, too, is similar in both inscriptions; so there can be no doubt that it was Mahēndravarman I who had the Pallāvaram temple excavated in the early part of the seventh century.

(5) *Mahēndravadi* is situated 3 miles to the south-east of Sholinghur railway station in the Wālājāpet taluk of the North Arcot district. The village is inhabited by Vaishnava Brāhmans and possesses a fine tank. Close to the tank are traces of fort walls and within the enclosures is a large granite rock in the eastern face of which a rock-cut temple has been excavated. The facade faces the east and is plain in design and without the large panels containing bas-relief figures of doorkeepers at the ends of the facade, as at Dalavānūr and Mandagapattu [Plate IV (*a*)]. It has no carved projecting cornice, and this portion of the facade has been left unfinished. In the centre of the facade are two square pillars with side pilasters, the cubical portions of which are ornamented with conventional lotus flowers similar to those at Dalavānūr.

On plan [Plate IV (c)] the temple consists of a rectangular hall *measuring 18′ 0″* long, 13′ 6″ wide and 9′ 0″ in height The roof is supported by two pillars similar to and in line with those of the facade. Cut in the west wall *and facing* the east, is a small oblong shrine cell flanked by two doorkeepers. The shrine contains a modern image of Narasimha. The doorkeepers *stand with their hands on their hips* and face the front like those at Dalavānūr. These figures are much decayed by the weathering of the rock The *temple contains an important Pallava inscription* engraved on the north face of the first pillar from the left of the facade. Dr. E. Hultzsch has given an account of this inscription *in the Epigraphia Indica*, Volume IV, pages 152 and 153 It records that "Gunabhara" excavated the temple which bore the name of Mahēndra-Vishnugriha (the Vishnu temple of Mahēndra) and that it stood on the bank of the Mahēndra-tataka (the tank of Mahēndra), situated in Mahēndrapura (the city of Mahēndra) The temple, the tank and the city were thus named after Mahēndra The same name occurs in the Trichinopoly inscription, and Dr. E. Hultzsch is of opinion that the Pallava king who bore the surname of Gunabhara (the bearer of virtues) was Mahēndravarman I The other princes named Mahēndra and particularly Mahēndravarman II seem to have reigned for a very short time or not to have reigned at all. Therefore, the Mahēndravadi temple may be attributed to Mahēndravarman I. The large tank near the village is no doubt the same as the one mentioned in the inscription and, if so, this too owes its *origin to the Pallavas This is one of the few Pallava temples dedicated to Vishnu*

(6) *Vallam.*—The little village of Vallam is situated 2 miles to the east of Chingleput railway station on the road to Tirukkalukkunram On the north side of the road is the village and hill of Vallam. There are three cave-temples excavated in the eastern face of the hill. The largest of them contains two Tamil inscriptions which are mentioned in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Volume II, *Part III*, pages 340 and 341 The oldest of them is engraved on the two pillars of the entrance and records that the temple was excavated by Skandāsana, *son of Vasantapriyarāja and vassal of king* Mahēndrapōtarāja *who was* surnamed "Gunabhara." Here there is no doubt concerning the name of the king, as the word Mahēndra *is followed by Pōtarāja, i e , king of Pallavas. The surname* "Gunabhara" is the same as that found in the inscriptions at Trichinopoly and Mahēndravadi. The late Mr. Venkayya has shown that in all probability, this Mahēndrapōtarāja of the Vallam inscription is identical with Mahēndravarman I (*Epigraphia Indica, Volume III, page 277*).

The two *smaller rock-cut shrines are unfinished and* unimportant The larger temple has been converted into a modern Hindu shrine and its appearance has been thoroughly ruined in consequence On plan, the *larger temple is similar to the one* at Mēlachēri, in the South Arcot district, and like the latter, has only two plain cubical pillars standing in the facade. Cut in the back wall is a little square shrine chamber facing the east and containing a cylindrical stone linga of the usual kind. On each side of the shrine entrance are two doorkeepers Their pose is similar to those in the Trichinopoly temple except that those at Vallam have their tall headdress decorated with bull's horns, and in this respect are similar to some of the later figures of doorkeepers at the Seven Pagodas belonging to the Māmalla period Cut in a niche on the south side of the facade is a large well executed image of Ganēsa, and on the northern side of

the facade is a crudely carved and much decayed female figure in bas-relief representing Jyēshtha. The Ganēsa figure appears to have been added at a later date. Between the openings in the facade are modern brick and plaster fillings and wooden doors, and the entire facade is covered in whitewash and its appearance is utterly spoilt, so much so, that it is useless to attempt to photograph it, as nothing of the original facade is now visible owing to these modern additions. It is a great pity, as it is an interesting and valuable ancient monument and one of the earliest Siva temples in Southern India.

(7) *Mēlachēri.*—At Mēlachēri, 3 miles north-west of the town of Gingee, in the South Arcot district, is a rock-cut shrine excavated in the western face of a small granite hill standing to the north of the village. It is known locally as the Maddilēsvara temple and is still in use as a place of worship. The rock-cut facade faces the west but is hidden from view by a modern brick and plaster mandapa attached to the front of it. In the centre are two square pillars, dividing the facade into three openings of equal size. Within is an entrance hall 19′ 9″ in length, 8′ 9″ in width and 6′ 8″ in height. Cut in the back or east wall, and facing the west is a small square shrine chamber containing a monolithic linga. This shrine measures 8′ 4″ × 8′ 7″ and is the same height as the entrance hall. The stone linga is cylindrical in form and together with its yoni pedestal stands 4′ 9″ above the floor level and is cut out of the solid rock. The temple contains no sculptures or ornamentation of any kind, but it does contain a Pallava inscription on one of the pillars which was discovered by Mr. Jouveau Dubreuil in 1916 and published in his book "*Pallava Antiquities*, Volume I, page 66". This inscription records that the temple was excavated by king Chandrādityā but the date is not given. The name Chandrāditya is evidently a surname of one of the Pallava kings but we do not know which one bore this name.

It is impossible to photograph the facade owing to the modern additions which obscure it from view, but a plan and section will be found in Plate IV. Architecturally, this temple is in the style of Mahēndra and it has therefore been included here.

(8) *Singavaram.*—About one mile to the south of Mēlachēri is the village of Singavaram which contains a rock-cut temple which, in all probability, owes its origin to the Pallavas. It is known as the Ranganātha temple and contains a large rock-cut image of Anantasayana resembling the one in the Shore Temple at Mahābalipuram. The image, however, has been recarved at a later period. The rock-cut hall in front of the shrine chamber has square monolithic pillars of the usual kind ornamented with conventional lotus flowers. At each end of the facade is an image of a doorkeeper which mostly resemble those found at the entrance to the shrine chamber of the Dalavānūr temple.

Mr. Jouveau-Dubreuil makes the following remark concerning the name of this village. "It is very probable that Singavaram (that is to say Simha-puram) was the capital of Singapuranādu." This name is, therefore, very ancient and since the doorkeepers are in the style of Mahēndravarman I; we may assume that Singavaram was founded by Simhavishnu and that the temple was excavated either during his reign or that of his successor Mahēndravarman I." No Pallava inscriptions have been found

in the Singavaram temple, but that does not necessarily mean that none exist, because the surface of the pillars is hidden by the modern mandapa built up against the facade of the temple. As the temple is in use for worship, the priests object to having this portion of the building removed, so there will always remain some doubt as to who was the author of the original temple.

(9) *Tirukkalukkunram* or Pakshitīrtham, as it is called in Sanskrit, is a small town 9 miles south-east of Chingleput railway station on the road to the Seven Pagodas. The town is situated at the foot of the picturesque Vēdagirīsvara hill and contains a large Siva temple, and another smaller Siva temple on the summit of Vēdagirīsvara hill [Plate V (a)]. The latter is approached from the south by a steep flight of stone steps which half way up, diverges east and west, forming a *pradakshina* or processional path meeting at the top of the hill. The flight of steps which ascends the eastern side of the hill about 50 feet below the summit, passes a rock-cut Pallava temple known as the Orukal mandapa [Plate V (c)]. This temple is excavated in the eastern face of an enormous rock which juts out from the slope of the hill on this side. The facade faces the east and is simple and severe in style. It has no carved projecting cornice and no large panels at the exterior ends of the facade containing figures of doorkeepers and in this respect as well as on plan, it resembles the Pallava temple at Mahēndravadi. In the centre of the facade are two plain cubical pillars of the usual kind dividing the facade into three openings of equal size. The central opening is approached by a double flight of stone steps as the floor of the temple is about 5 feet above the natural ground level. On plan the temple consists of a hall 22′ 6″ in length 17′ 0″ in width, and about 9 feet in height with a second row of pillars similar to and in line with those of the facade. Cut in the back or west wall is a small square shrine chamber 8 feet in length and 7 feet in width with a little doorway facing the east. The shrine contains a large cylindrical granite linga mounted on a yoni pedestal of the usual kind and the walls of the interior are free from ornamentation. As the floor of the shrine is about 3 feet above the level of the hall the shrine entrance is provided with a small flight of rock-cut steps. On each side of the shrine doorway, is a niche containing a crudely carved figure of a doorkeeper. The latter have only two arms and are portrayed with one hand resting on a huge club and the other on the hip. Their pose, style of headdress and position on each side of the shrine entrance indicate that they belong to the Mahēndra period. Above the shrine doorway is the usual heavy projecting cornice moulding but without the dormer window ornament, and below it two plain horizontal bands. Below the niches, on each side of the steps, the exterior base of the sanctuary is ornamented with two rows of simple plinth mouldings similar to those belonging to the shrine chamber of the Trichinopoly temple which it closely resembles. Standing figures in bas-relief of Brahmā and Vishnu flank the exterior sides of the sanctuary and are carved in panels on the back wall of the hall. Both figures have four arms and the image of Brahmā which is on the south side of the sanctuary is portrayed with a peculiar coiffure which is almost spherical in shape and unusual in style. The image of Vishnu is similar in style to figures of that deity portrayed in some of the later sculptures adorning the temples at the Seven Pagodas belonging to the Māmalla period. These two images appear to be later than the two doorkeepers guarding the entrance into the sanctuary. If so, the original temple must have been

dedicated to Siva and then at a later period, converted into a place of worship for the three gods of the Hindu Trinity—Brahmā, Vishnu and Siva. No ceremonial worship is conducted in the temple now, but pilgrims still bow before the linga which is believed to represent Siva, who according to the local *stalapurana* cursed two *rishis* dwelling on the hill and turned them into birds. These sacred rishi-birds are still held to visit the temple on the hill regularly at noon and receive morsels of cooked food from the hands of one of the priests.

Carved on the north and south walls of the main hall, one on each side and facing each other, are two life size figures of doorkeepers. They are duplicate images carved in high relief and elegant in form. They have only one pair of arms and each figure is portrayed with one hand raised in the act of adoration while the other hand rests on the hip. They have the usual tall headdresses and ornaments and resemble the two doorkeepers found on each side of the entrance into the sanctuary of the Dalavānūr temple.

An account of the inscriptions found in this temple is published in the *Annual Report for Epigraphy, Southern Circle*, for the year 1908-1909, pages 73 and 76. At first sight, the only inscriptions visible were a number of Dutch signatures of the 17th century, recording the visit of a party of Dutch officials from the neighbouring port of Sadras. These signatures filled every available space on the walls and pillars. Closer examination, however, revealed an early Tamil record engraved on the capital of one of the pillars in the back row. The beginning of this record is damaged, but from the end of it, which is fortunately in a good state of preservation, it appears that the inscription was never completed for reasons which are not apparent. However, the name Vātāpikonda Narasingapōttarasar, which occurs towards the end, clearly shows that the record belongs to the reign of Narasimhavarman I, the son of the great Mahēndravarman I. It will be remembered that it was Narasimhavarman I who defeated the Western Chālukyas and captured in 642 A. D. their capital Vātāpi, *i.e.*, Bādāmi in the Bombay Presidency. This conquest of Vātāpi secured for Narasimhavarman I, the Tamil title Vātāpikonda, *i.e.*, " who took Vātāpi." Unfortunately, the inscription does not tell us who excavated the temple or in fact anything about the temple, but the style of its architecture clearly denotes that it was excavated in the reign of Mahēndra though it is possible and, indeed, extremely probable, that the figures of Brahmā and Vishnu were added during the reign of the latter's son, perhaps at the same time as the inscription.

An inscription on the west wall of the strong room of the Vēdagirisvara temple at Tirukkalukkunram which was published by the late Mr. Venkayya in *Volume III of the Epigraphia Indica*, pages 277 to 280, records the interesting fact of a second renewal by the Chōla king Rājakēsarivarman Āditya I of a grant originally made to the temple of Mulasthana by the Pallava king Skandasishya and renewed by Narasimhavarman I. In all probability, the inscription in the Orukal Mandapa is a record of the renewal by Narasimhavarman I of the gift to the Mulasthana temple mentioned in the inscription of Rājakēsarivarman. It is, therefore, possible that the neglected linga enshrined within the Orukal Mandapa represents the original Mulasthana. In any case the Mulasthana temple to which Skandasishya (Skandavarman) made the grant was one of the earliest Hindu temples in Southern India and was situated at Tirukkalukkunram.

The Vēdagirisvāra temple on the summit of the hill is a very ancient structure in spite of its somewhat modern appearance due to later additions. The main shrine is built of three huge blocks of stone which form its inner walls. On these walls are carved bas-relief panels representing the following subjects :—

(1) On the west wall—Siva and Pārvati in the centre with the child Skanda seated between them representing Sōmaskanda with Brahmā on the south and Vishnu on the north side of the central group. Below, near the feet of Siva is Mārkandeya.

(2) On the north wall—Yōgadakshināmūrti and near him the two *rishis* supposed to have been cursed by Siva and transformed into the sacred birds that are now held to be regular visitors to the hill.

(3) On the south wall—Nandikēsvara and Chandikēsvara with a weapon in hand. The Sōmaskanda panel carved on the back wall of the main shrine indicates that this temple is later than the Orukal Mandapa. On top of the hill a few yards distant from the steps leading up to the temple entrance and stuck in the ground by the side of the pathway is a granite pillar, or rather a pilaster, the base of which is decorated with one of the big conventional lions so familiar in temples built in the Rājasimha style. The presence of this pillar clearly denotes that there was once a Pallava temple on the hill belonging to the Rājasimha period. There is thus sufficient evidence to prove that Tirukkalukkunram was a stronghold of the Pallavas from the earliest times down to about the ninth century A. D.

(10) *Kilmavilangai.*—Another quaint little rock-cut monument which appears to belong to the early Pallava period is the shrine at Kilmavilangai in the Tindivanam taluk of the South Arcot district. It is cut in the northern face of a large isolated granite rock standing in a field just outside the village which is seven miles north of Tindivanam railway station. The shrine consists of a small cell five feet in height and three feet in width and faces north-east. It contains a crudely carved image of Vishnu carved on the back wall in high relief. This image is 4′ 4″ in height and has four arms. The left upper arm is raised holding a conch while the left lower hand rests on the hip. The right upper arm is raised with the hand holding a chakram and the right lower hand is shown in the *abhaya* or protecting pose. The conch and chakram are without flames of fire indicating that they were carved during the early period of Pallava history. The figure is represented wearing the usual lofty headdress and ornaments but with a curious short skirt or kilt which is unusual. The head, chest and hands have been anointed with oil by the villagers who work in the neighbouring field which gives these portions of the image an unpleasantly black and dirty appearance making a really good photograph impossible. The entrance is provided with narrow doorjambs hewn out of the rock. On the outer surface of each doorjamb is a crude representation in outline only and unfinished, of a standing doorkeeper. The latter appear to face the shrine and not the front. There are no inscriptions to guide one as to its origin, but there can be no doubt that it was excavated by the Pallavas somewhere about the 7th century. [Plate V (*b*).]

(11) *Bezwada.*—The Krishnā, or Kistna district, as it is now officially called, on the north side of the sacred Krishnā river and the neighbouring Guntur district on the south have always been favourite resorts of ardent devotees of religion from the earliest times. On the south side of the river the remains of Buddhist monuments, including the famous Amarāvati stūpa, are met with, but all of them, unfortunately, in ruins. In this district Buddhism appears to have come to an end about the beginning of the 7th century, when the Western Chālukyas obtained possession of the country from the Pallavas and drove the latter south. Hiuen Tsiang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim and traveller, visited this district soon after this event and resided at Bezwada in a Buddhist monastery for several months in 639 A. D. From the account of the district which he has left us, it appears that Buddhism was already on the decline at the time of his visit. No doubt the conquest of the country by the Western Chālukyas helped in this, but Hiuen Tsiang does not expressly say so. There are no Buddhist remains at Bezwada now except a few sculptures which were collected in the neighbourhood and placed in the Bezwada Library some years ago. Most of these apparently came from Amarāvati. The oldest and most interesting ancient monuments to be seen at Bezwada to-day are the small rock-cut Hindu temples excavated in the eastern face of the Indrakila hill and those in the neighbouring modern hamlet of Mogalrājapuram. There are also similar remains at Undavalli on the south side of the river, the large rock-cut temple at Undavalli being of particular value and interest.

The origin of these temples is obscure and there is no actual proof that they are the work of the Pallavas, but their architectural style seems to denote that they were excavated by the latter and that they represent their earliest attempts in this direction before the Pallavas were driven south by the Chālukyas and executed similar but better works in the Tamil country. They possess no ancient inscriptions regarding their origin, but the style of the sculptures and mouldings and similarity of plan between some of these rock-cut temples of the Telugu country and those of the South indicate that they are both the work of the same race of people. The Telugu names appearing in some of the earliest Pallava inscriptions found in some of the rock-cut temples in the Tamil country excavated during the reign of Mahēndravarman I show that he originally came from the Telugu country and that it was there where he must have first got his taste for excavating temples out of the living rock. That it was Mahēndra himself who personally introduced the idea of excavating Hindu temples out of the natural rock instead of building them with bricks in the usual manner there cannot be any shadow of doubt. This has been conclusively proved by Mr. Jouveau-Dubreuil in his paper on the "*Conjeeveram Inscription of Mahēndravarman I,*" published in 1919. In this paper he gives an account of the inscription found in the triple-shrined Pallava temple at Mandagapattu in the South Arcot district which is particularly interesting and valuable. He states that the tenor of the inscription as translated into English is as follows :—"This is the temple caused to be constructed by the (king) Vichitrachitta for (the images of) Brahmā, Isvara and Vishnu, without (using) bricks, timber, metals or mortar."

Although short, much information is incidentally recorded. In the first place, the 'biruda,' or title Vichitrachitta or Vichitachittena, is a well-known 'biruda' of Mahēndravarman I, it also occurs in the Pallavaram inscription. Mr. Dubreuil informs us

that the word means in English 'curious minded' In other words, 'original minded,' the inventor or originator of the art of carving Hindu temples out of the natural rock instead of building them in the usual way with bricks and lime, wooden pillars and roofs decorated with metal finials The most casual visitor to the wonderful group of Pallava monuments at the Seven Pagodas must have noticed that all of the monolithic free-standing temples, locally known as "rathas," are obviously only stone models of buildings constructed of brick and mortar with timber-framed roofs decorated with copper-gilt ornaments like those referred to in the inscription quoted above. It is also equally clear that it was Mahēndra himself who introduced this new idea into Southern India with regard to rock-cut Hindu temples and that he had no intention of allowing his Tamil masons to claim the right of authorship otherwise, he would never have adopted such a 'curious-minded' biruda The latter clearly shows that he was feeling exceedingly pleased with himself at the time and the results achieved in this direction by his Tamil masons perhaps under his own personal supervision The inscription proves at any rate the direct influence that the Pallava kings had over the art of the period, also that structural temples, presumably Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina monuments alike, built of brick and mortar, with timber-framed roofs and walls, existed prior to Mahēndra's introduction of the rock-cut Hindu temple into Southern India in the early part of the 7th century A D. This is a very important point, because, so far, no remains of such buildings have been discovered belonging to the early Hindu period of South Indian Architecture. If such buildings did exist, then all trace of them has since disappeared.

The rock-cut temples at Bezwada are excavated in the eastern and western slopes of the Indrakila hill. There is only one cave-temple on the western side and this is situated immediately above the Powder Magazine belonging to the Public Works Department and faces the waterworks at the foot of the hill. It is a fairly large natural cavern that shows signs of having been partly worked in order to convert it into a shrine, but apparently the work was never completed It is of no particular archæological interest.

There are five excavations on the eastern side of the hill, but only two of these are interesting and both of them are situated in the quarry compound belonging to the Public Works Department. The other three shrines on this side of the hill have been converted into modern places of worship and are occupied by fakirs and others and are no longer of any interest to the antiquarian. As one enters the quarry compound from the south, the first excavation met with is a small two-celled shrine facing the east. It is unfinished and very much decayed Two little shrine cells are cut in the back or west wall and each has a small porch in front. Over the shrine doorway, below the cornice, is a small *hamsa* or sacred goose frieze, so common at the Seven Pagodas. The cornice, too, is in the same style and decorated with the usual gable ornament. There are traces of the figures of doorkeepers at each end of the porch but they are too decayed to be of any interest. On the south side of the porch is a crudely carved image of Ganēsa, probably a later addition.

The second temple is known locally as the Akkanna Mādanna Mandapa and is situated about 300 yards to the north of the one just described and higher up the slope

of the hill. It is the largest and best rock-cut temple at Bezwada [Plate V (*d*)]. It is a triple-celled temple with a pillared hall or verandah in front and faces the east. The hall measures 48′ 4″ in length and 29′ 4″ in width and has twelve octagonal pillars which have neither capitals nor bases [Plate VI (*b*)]. The temple is free from ornamental mouldings or sculptural figures and the three small shrine cells are empty and unfinished. The latter indicate that the temple was dedicated to the three gods of the *Hindu Triad*, the central cell, which is a little bigger than the other two flanking it, having probably contained the Siva linga. The plan of the building is similar to that of the Pallava temple at Mandagapattu in the South Arcot district, except that the hall of the latter is not so large. The octagonal pillars are peculiar and quite unlike those usually found in Pallava temples anywhere. It contains no inscriptions so its origin is uncertain. However, the plan of the temple seems to indicate that it is a Pallava monument, a triple celled shrine dedicated to the Hindu Triad being one of the commonest types of plans of early Pallava temples.

Why this temple should be locally known as the Akkanna Mādanna Mandapa I do not know. Akkanna and Mādanna, according to the Dutch journalist Havart, were ministers of the Qutb Shahi kings Abdulla Qutb Shāh and Abdul Hassan. They were two brothers born of a very poor family but rose rapidly in rank in the service of Abdulla Qutb Shāh (1611—1672 A. D.), and appear to have maintained the same high position also under Abdul Hassan, the successor of Abdulla Qutb Shāh. However, their good fortune did not last very long. In 1685 A. D. Aurangazeb entered Golkonda with his army and plundered the house of Mādanna who was accused by the people of high treason. Under orders from the Sultan Abdul Hassan the two brothers, once the bosom friends of the king were murdered in a most ignominious manner. They were dragged along the streets in the presence of the people. Mādanna was beheaded and his head was sent to Aurangazeb, while that of Akkanna was trampled under the foot of an elephant. Their death appears to have occurred about November 1685 A. D. Abdul Hassan, who thought that he would now be quite safe was himself deposed and confined in Daulatabad Fort two years later.

(12) *Mogalrājapuram.*—This little village is about three miles to the east of Bezwada and surrounded by small hills on the north and south sides. There are three small excavations in the hill to the south-east of the village. Number one, a small unfinished triple-celled temple with a decayed pillared porch in front which faces the north, is excavated in the northern face of the hill. There is nothing remarkable about it and there is not much to discribe as it contains no sculptures or ornamentation. On plan, it consists of a hall measuring 26′ 6″ in length and 5′ 6″ in width. The facade has a curved cornice running along the front but is not decorated with the usual gable ornament. There are only two square pillars in front dividing the facade into three small openings of equal size. One of these pillars has decayed. Cut in the back wall are three small shrines each 7′ 6″ square on plan with narrow door ways facing due north. We may presume that these shrines once contained images of the three gods of the Hindu Triad. [Plate VI (*c*).]

On the southern side of the same hill are two more small excavations which may be conveniently numbered two and three as they possess no local names. Number 2 is

a very small affair, consisting of a porch 18′ 3″ × 19′ 9″ with two square pillars in the entrance and a little square shrine cut in the back wall measuring 7′ 4″ × 7′ 7″ and facing the south [Plate VI (*d*)]. It contains nothing of any interest. Number 3 is a little larger than the last and more interesting as it contains an object of worship which, however, does not receive any attention at the present day. The temple consists of a small rock-cut hall measuring 12′ 9″ × 15′, with two cubical pillars in front dividing the facade into three narrow openings. It has a heavy curved projecting cornice decorated with the dormer window ornament, the latter having spade-shaped finials similar to those appearing in the Pallava temple at Dalavānūr in the South Arcot district. Above and at the back of the cornice extending the entire length of the facade are two flat horizontal bands or fillets. Projecting from the lower band, which is wider and deeper than the upper, are two little square-headed projections simulating the heads of wooden beams supporting the flat roof over the hall. This curious feature also appears in the facades of the temples at Dalavānūr and Pallāvaram which were both executed during the reign of the great Mahēndra. The cornice, the horizontal bands above it and the cubical pillars are all executed in the typical early Pallava style. On plan too, the temple closely resembles that of the Dalavānūr temple except that the latter has the main entrance at the side instead of in front. [Plate VII (*a*) and Plate VIII (*a*)].

Excavated in the back wall and facing south is a shrine cell six feet square on plan containing a small panel carved on the back wall in which is portrayed a crudely carved bas-relief figure of Dūrga.

On the east side of the facade and cut in the rock is a little niche about 4′ long and 2′ in height containing three little decayed bas-relief figures representing the three gods of the Hindu Trinity. On the west side of the facade is a corresponding niche which has been left unfinished. A few feet to the west of the latter is a figure of a warrior with a drawn sword roughly carved on the face of the rock and on the west side of the figure is an old Telugu inscription. The latter is much worn and only partly legible. I sent a copy of it to Mr. Krishna Sastri, the Government Epigraphist, and he kindly informs me as follows :—" The record is an early Telugu one of about the 8th or 9th century and refers to the stabbing of some individual. In the first line I can clearly read the name Chōla and in the third the words stabbed." The figure with the sword apparently is intended for a crude portrait of the individual who did the stabbing. The figure does not appear to have any connexion with the temple and belongs to a later period.

Temple No. 4 is situated about a quarter of a mile to the west of the Dūrga temple and excavated in the northern face of another small hill that is now being used as a stone quarry. This temple is the largest and finest of the Mogalrājapuram group and contains some interesting scrulptural figures and ornament. It faces the north and on plan consists of a hall or portico measuring 31′ 4″ × 15′ 3″ and 8″ in height. [Plate VII (*b*)]. Excavated in the back wall and facing the north are three small shrine chambers, the largest being in the centre and measuring 6′ square. The two smaller shrines flanking the central one contain raised rock-cut pedestals with socket holes for the reception of detached stone images. The central shrine has no pedestal projecting from the back wall and must have originally contained a stone linga mounted on a yoni

pedestal of the usual kind. The shrine chambers are now empty and free from all ornament. In the centre of the hall are four cubical pillars supporting the ceiling. The facade has two cubical pillars with corbel capitals dividing the front into three openings of equal size. These pillars are in the typical Mahēndra style and have the roll ornament on the underside of their capitals similar to those found in the Trichinopoly temple. The innerside of the upper cubical portions of the two front pillars are decorated with circular medallions filled with bas-relief ornament. One contains a figure of Vishnu and a recumbent elephant and the other Krishna being suckled by a *rākshasi*. A medallion on another pillar inside the hall contains a small figure of a *gandharva* surrounded by floral ornament. The latter is similar in style to one decorating a medallion on one of the cubical pillars in the Trichinopoly temple. The most interesting portion of the temple is its ornamental facade which resembles that of the Dalavānūr temple referred to above. On each side of the facade is a large niche containing a life-size figure of a doorkeeper. They face the front and are portrayed with one arm resting on a huge club and the other on the hip. Their lofty headdresses are decorated with bull's horns like those appearing in the figures of doorkeepers in the Vallam temple and certain monuments at the Seven Pagodas. Above the corbel capitals of the facade is a boldly projecting convex cornice decorated with three large simulated dormer windows. The central one contains a representation of the heads of Siva and his consort Pārvāti, the one on the western side has the heads of Vishnu and Lakshmi and the one on the eastern side the head of Brahmā with three faces. Above the cornice is a kind of frieze decorated with small figures of lions and elephants. The former are portrayed with lashing tails and in the act of attacking the elephants which have the trunks raised and extended as though trumpeting defiance at the lions. Carved on the face of the rock above this frieze is a life size bas-relief figure of Siva dancing, presumably in the form of Natarāja or as *Kālīka Tandava*. The figure is very decayed and the middle portion is missing. It originally had four arms and one foot is portrayed standing on the prostrate body of a demon dwarf. The presence of this indicates that the chief deity enshrined within the central shrine chamber was Siva, apparently in the form of a linga, while the two side cells contained detached stone images of Vishnu and Brahmā, respectively, representing the Hindu Trinity.

In front of the facade is a little open terrace. On the east side of which is a small panel containing a crude bas-relief figure of Ganēsa and three empty rock-cut niches. The style of the doorkeepers, the cubical pillars and the dormer window ornament decorating the cornice is typical of the Mahēndra period and there can be little doubt that this temple was excavated by the Pallavas. [Plate VIII (*b*)].

Temple No. 5.—At a short distance to the north-west of this Trimūrti temple is another isolated hill which is also in use as a stone quarry. Excavated in the western face of this hill is a small ruined temple facing the east. The temple consists of a pillared portico 21′ 4″ in length, 20′ 4″ in width and 8′ in height. [Plate VII (*c*)]. Most of the pillars, the shrine doorway and the facade are broken and in ruins. Cut in the back wall and facing the east is a small oblong shrine cell measuring 6′ by 3′ now empty and deserted. Carved in a small panel between two slender pilasters on the north side of the shrine entrance is a bas-relief figure of a two-armed doorkeeper holding a drawn sword in the right hand and resting the other arm on a curved shield. It is a most unusual

form of doorkeeper but resembles a similar figure appearing in the rock-cut temple at Siyamangalam. The little pilasters on either side of the panel are similar to those in the Trichinopoly temple. The south side of the shrine entrance was never finished and is much broken and decayed. The hall originally had six cubical pillars of the usual type with corresponding side pilasters. Carved on the base of the pilaster standing at the southern end of the facade is a bas-relief ornament representing a vase tied cross-wise with ribbons with a kind of floral ornament issuing from the mouth of the vessel [Plate VII (*d*)]. It is a design that frequently appears on Buddhist monuments and also apparently on Pallava coins (*vide* the illustration given on page 207, *Oxford History of India*, by Vincent Smith). The pillars of the front portion of the hall are carved with horizontal beams supporting the roof Along these beams are two sculptural friezes, one on each side. One represents a row of fat little dwarfs carrying a heavy garland and the other has a row of sacred geese [Plate VII (*e*)] Both of these designs occur frequently in the ornamentation of Pallava temples at the Seven Pagodas The outer portion of the facade is hopelessly ruined and much of it is missing, a small portion of the cornice, however, exists at the northern end and this is decorated with a row of little dwarfs in high relief but without the garland.

(13) *Undavalli.*—The great rock-cut temple of Anantasayana at Undavalli in the Guntur district is situated on the south bank of the Krishnā river opposite to Bezwada and can be reached by boat from that place or from Tadepalle, the next station to Bezwada on the Guntur line. The temple and a few minor excavations and crude rock carvings are excavated in a rocky hill about two miles north-west of Tadepalle station and face in a north-easterly direction towards the river and the Kistna district beyond. A description of the big temple appears in Fergusson's "*Cave Temples of India*", Chapter IV. The few inscriptions discovered at Undavalli throw no light on the origin of the temple. The earliest is an old Telugu record of about the 9th century A. D. engraved on the front surface of the unfinished cornice of the facade of the ground floor. It is incomplete and records nothing of any interest except the date, which is later than the age of the monument. Another record shows that the temple was in good order and well patronised by the Reddi chiefs of Kondavīdu in the Guntur district during the 14th century and a record from the South Arcot district indicates that the great Vijayanagar king Krishnarāya visited the temple and bestowed gifts upon it in the 16th century. These inscriptions show that the temple was called Anantasāyigudi or Anantasyanagudi in the middle ages and contains in its second storey a decayed colossal image of Anantasayana (Vishnu lying on a serpent couch), with his attendant deities (Plate XII). In the hall adjoining the sanctuary containing the great image of Vishnu are a number of figures carved on the back wall representing devotees, which by their appearance confirm the statements made by the local villagers. that they are Vaishnava Alvārs and appear to be later additions Since the inscriptions give no information regarding the origin of the temple its approximate age can be ascertained only from its architectural style.

The temple [Plate XIV (*a*)] consists of a ground floor and three upper storeys hewn out of the natural rock. (Plates IX to XI). It has a frontage of about 90 feet in length and rises to a height of 50 feet from the ground level. The ground floor is an unfinished excavation representing a low pillared hall and facade with eight square

pillars dividing the front into seven openings or doorways of equal size. The excavations have been carried inward to various depths, leaving portions of three rows of massive square monolithic pillars in line with those of the facade. On the outer face of the latter is engraved the Telugu inscription of the 9th century mentioned above.

The first storey occupies a very much greater area than the ground floor. On plan (Plate IX) it seems to have been designed as a triple-celled shrine which in all probability, was originally dedicated to the Hindu Trinity in spite of the fact that most of the sculptural figures contained within represent Vaishnava deities and legends. On the north side is a small attendant shrine adjoining the main excavation, but not apparently part of the original design. The central shrine is the largest and consists of a small rock-cut shrine chamber about 10 feet square on plan with a pillared hall about 29 feet square in front, the roof of which is supported by four rows of massive square monolithic pillars. The style and ornamentation of the cubical portions of these pillars, their bracket capitals decorated with the roll ornament on the underside, are similar to those found in the Trichinopoly temple and obviously belong to the same period. The cornice of the facade is decorated with a frieze of geese below and the gable-window ornament above. The shrine chamber is empty ; but it contains a rock-cut pedestal with a socket hole for the reception of a stone image or linga. On each side of the shrine entrance, carved on the back wall of the hall are figures in panels representing incarnations of Vishnu. They are of late mediæval date and of no artistic merit, having been probably added during some local revival of the Vishnu cult. The facade has four massive pillars dividing the front into five openings with a small flight of steps leading up to the central entrance. The southern end of the facade is decorated with a crudely carved panel representing an elephant uprooting a tree. A narrow flight of rock-cut steps leads up from the interior of the central hall to the second storey but there is no communication between the first storey and the ground floor. The little shrine on the south of the central one consists of a small rock-cut cell about 10 feet square with a small four-pillared porch in front. The shrine chamber is empty and the panels on each side of the shrine doorway are broken and decayed and contain no sculptural figures. The facade has two pillars of the usual kind, and three openings and steps leading up to the front entrance. The small shrine on the north side is similar to the one on the south side in size, style and on plan but it contains two carved figures of doorkeepers in panels, one on each side of the shrine entrance. These two figures are in the Pallava style. The plan of the first storey seems to indicate that it was originally designed as a triple-celled temple similar to the one at Mandagapattu [Plate III (*c*)]. Both on plan and in style it appears to be a typical Pallava monument of the Mahēndra period.

On plan (Plate X), the second storey consists of a large pillared hall 28 feet in width and about 50 feet in length with a little empty rock-cut shrine cell about 12 feet square at the southern end and an oblong sanctuary at the northern end containing the colossal image of Anantasayana mentioned above. The central hall contains four rows of massive square pillars of the usual kind and similar to those belonging to the first storey. Their cubical portions are decorated with lotus medallions, floral designs and a few Vaishnava figures. The bases of two of the pillars of the facade are decorated with little figures of lions. The latter are represented with one fore paw raised, erect heads and

gaily carried lashing tails. The bases of some of the other pillars are decorated with a vase ornament similar to that illustrated in Plate VII (*d*). The lions and vase ornament are similar in style to those appearing on certain coins which have been attributed to the Pallavas (*vide* Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, Plate I, No 16). The back wall of the central hall is decorated with the Vaishnava Alvārs and other figures already mentioned. But there are also a number of Saiva figures portrayed showing that both deities were venerated in the same temple.

The principal image in the temple is the huge image of Vishnu lying on the serpent illustrated in Plate XII. This drawing was made many years ago when the figure was not so decayed or maltreated as it now is It was no doubt originally covered with plaster and the details executed in that material. A similar figure exists in the shrine attached to the big Siva temple at Mahabalipuram known as the Shore temple and it also occurs in a large bas-relief panel in a Siva temple close to the Lighthouse at the same place. This big image of Anantasayana and the Vaishnava bas-reliefs have led some authors to believe that the temple was originally dedicated to Vishnu But in Pallava monuments it is not uncommon to find an image of Vishnu, particularly in the form of Anantasayana, located in a Siva temple. The style of the doorkeepers, panels and niches containing Saiva figures, and the group of rock-cut miniature Siva temples containing lingas on the hill close by all indicate that Undavalli was a stronghold of the linga cult in the seventh century in spite of the presence of Vaishnava figures in the big temple.

The facade is in the same style as that of the first floor and has an open terrace in front commanding a beautiful view of the river and country beyond. At the northern end of the terrace is a flight of rock-cut steps leading up to the top storey and at the southern end a group of decayed figures carved in the round representing a life size male human figure seated in the usual conventional cross-legged manner of Jain and Buddhist images and two big lions, one on each side of the central figure The latter is now headless and too decayed for identification. The group appears immediately above the cornice of the little Siva shrine below belonging to the lower storey and therefore seems to relate to the latter rather than to the terrace above. It does not appear to be a representation of any particular deity and has only one pair of arms. In all probability, it [illegible] king who executed this great work. We [illegible] mself within the Trichinopoly temple and the socket-hole for that image still exists, so there is no reason why the king or ruler who ordered the Undavalli temple to be made may not have done likewise. The figures of lions on the bases of some of the pillars in the same storey, also those found on early Pallava coins, seem to show that the big lions flanking this image denote that it represents a royal personage and the founder of the temple and is not a representation of a deity.

The third or top storey is unfinished It consists of an open terrace and a closed-in facade decorated with little plasters and provided with three doorways in front giving access to three little unfinished rock-cut cells. Had it been completed it would have taken the form of a triple-celled temple dedicated to the Hindu Triad. It contains no carvings or images and is of no particular interest. In all probability, it was excavated at a later date than the lower storeys.

Along the foot and sides of the same hill are four small unfinished rock-cut temples and a few crudely carved rock-sculptures. The largest of the four temples is a triple-celled shrine and the rest are single. They are all unfinished but on plan and in style they are similar to the shrines located in the big temple and belong to the same period. Their pillars, figures of doorkeepers and cornices, where they exist, are in the Mahēndra style and appear to belong to that period. They contain no inscriptions. One little group of Saiva memorial shrines cut in the face of the rock are interesting and are illustrated in Plate XIII. They are similar in style to certain rock-cut representations of miniature temples occurring at Mahabalipuram which will be referred to again later on. The Undavalli temple is not a single rock-cut edifice dedicated to Vishnu but three distinct temples excavated one above the other in the same rock and similar in this respect to the group of Pallava temples at Bhairavakonda in the Nellore district to be described later on. The ground floor is unfinished, the first storey is a triple-celled temple originally dedicated to the Hindu Trinity, the second storey in a Siva temple similar on plan to the Trichinopoly temple only having a sanctuary at its northern end containing a large image of Anantasayana and the top storey would have been another triple-celled temple if it had been completed. On plan and in style they represent three temples of the Mahēndra period excavated one above the other in the same rock.

(14) *Bhairavakonda.*—While at Udayagiri in the Nellore district in December 1920, I was fortunate in discovering an important and hitherto unknown group of rock-cut temples excavated in a rocky hill locally known as Bhairavakonda, 28 miles north-west of Udayagiri and a difficult place to reach owing to lack of roads in this part of the district. The temples are situated at the upper end of a picturesque ravine down which a little stream flows over rocks and boulders to the plains below. At the eastern end of the ravine, standing on a big granite rock which slopes down to the stream, is a small stone-built temple set up over a boulder on which is carved a crude image of Bhairava [Plate XIV (*b*)]. It appears to be an ancient little structure and is in use as a place of worship, but it is of no particular archæological interest. Just below it, cut in the western face of the rock and facing the stream is a group of little rock-cut memorial shrines set up by pious devotees to commemorate their visit to this holy spot. They are very small, about 2 feet square on plan and 3 feet in height and most of them contain little lingas hewn out of the natural rock. The only one of any real interest is situated at the south end of the sloping rock. This one has two carved panels, one on each side of the entrance to the shrine which contains a small rock-cut linga and an inscription over the little doorway. One panel contains the figure of Brahma and the other a four-armed figure of Vishnu. I had estampages taken of all the inscriptions found at Bhairavakonda and forwarded the same to Mr. Krishna Sastri, the Government Epigraphist, for examination and report. He states that the inscription over the entrance of the little memorial shrine is a record of the early part of the ninth century and records that the shrine was founded by a princess named Lōkama, daughter of a prince named Rājapōrēri and grand-daughter of Goyindapōrēri. He is of opinion that the suffix *prōrēri* suggests that the princess may have been a member of the Telugu-Chōla family which flourished in the surrounding country about this period.

On the other bank of the stream, facing the little Bhairava temple, are eight rock-cut temples and a number of little rock-cut memorial shrines like those just described

[*Plate XV (a)*]. The temples are similar in style to rock-cut monuments of the Pallava period, but most of the memorial shrines appear later and the inscriptions show that many of them were excavated long after the temples were founded. It is obvious from their architectural style that some of the temples are much older than others. The earliest are similar in style to monuments belonging to the Mahēndra period and the later examples similar to those of the Māmalla period and bear a remarkable resemblance to some of the rock-cut temples at the Seven Pagodas On purely architectural grounds, they appear to range in date from the 7th to the latter part of the 8th century, and rank among the earliest Hindu temples yet discovered in Southern India The inscriptions range from the 7th to the 10th century and mostly refer to the memorial shrines founded by pilgrims and not to the temples, so they are not of much use in tracing the origin of the latter. Some of the older records were so fragmentary and decayed that Mr. Krishna Sastri reports that he was unable to make anything of them In some places, usually on the surface of the rock separating two temples the space is honeycombed with these little memorial shrines, and it is usually at such spots that the inscriptions occur—a circumstance which makes it impossible to know which shrine or temple the record refers to, as they are all so close together forming one group.

There are eight temples and all of them contain stone lingas showing that they were dedicated to Siva and most of them face the east The lingas are of medium size, cylindrical in shape, polished and most of them are made of black basalt, which must have been brought from a distance as there is none in the neighbourhood. The yoni pedestals, which are hewn out of the natural rock, are square on plan and usually about 18 inches in height. The linga is fixed in a round hole cut in the centre of the upper surface of the pedestal. The shrine cells are small and plain, usually about 6 feet square on plan and 6 feet in height. On each side of the shrine doorway is a large panel or niche containing a life-size figure of a doorkeeper leaning on a huge club. All of these figures are two-armed indicating their early origin. The pose and style of these large figures, the headdress, including the bull's horns worn by some of them, the curious arrangement of the hair, extending outwards from each side of the face in a circular mass resting on the shoulders, the body ornaments and the huge clubs, are similar to those found in early Pallava monuments at Trichinopoly, Dalavānūr, Mandagapattu and elsewhere. The bull's horns worn as a headdress appear to be a feature peculiar to Pallava art. It is a common form of headdress in some of the sculptures at the Seven Pagodas and is also met with in the figures of doorkeepers of the Pallava temples at Vallam and *Mogalrājapuram*. At the Seven Pagodas a few years ago I found buried in the sand, one just outside the western shrine of the Shore temple and the other outside the small Siva temple next to the Durga temple at the Five *Raths*, two life-size stone heads of Siva decorated with bull's horns and carved in the round. Projecting downwards from the neck was a stone tenon indicating that these heads were once set up in shrines in place of the usual lingas. These horns and the strange manner of dressing the hair suggests that some peculiar Saiva cult flourished during the Pallava period. Another feature about the Bhairavakonda temples, which is very characteristic of Pallava [illegible] Brahma and Vishnu carved in panels [illegible] d by the big doorkeepers mentioned above. Unlike the [illegible] are always four-armed. The image

of Brahma appears on the proper right or south side of the shrine containing the linga and Vishnu on the north side, the three apparently representing the Hindu Trinity. But the important position given to the linga shows that Siva was the chief object of worship. Brahma and Vishnu being regarded as minor deities. These two deities occupy the same subordinate position in the bas-relief panels representing Sōmaskanda found in Pallava temples of the 8th century at the Seven Pagodas, Panamalai, Conjeeveram and elsewhere. In the later and more ornamental temples at Bhairavakonda, we have the cornice decorated with the gable window design and a frieze of fat little dwarfs below it and lion pillars with bracket capitals carrying the architrave spanning the facade, just as we find them in many of the temples at the Seven Pagodas. When the Pallavas became dispossessed of their Telugu province by the Chālukyas in the early part of the 7th century and were driven south, they must have passed through that region which is now called the Nellore district and it is probable that this area formed a frontier between the two countries for some years as the Pallavas never regained their northern province although their empire continued to flourish in the south. The architectural style of the earlier temples at Bhairavakonda clearly indicates that they were excavated in the 7th century or thereabouts, and as we know that the Pallavas must have occupied this part of the country about this period at least for a time, and the fact that both on plan and in design the temples are similar to Pallava monuments discovered elsewhere, it is reasonable to assume that the earlier temples at least are the work of the Pallavas. As there are eight temples all of which are dedicated to Siva and have no special names, it will be necessary to number them 1 to 8 in describing them below in detail.

Temple No. 1 is the first one the visitor sees on approaching the group from the plains and is excavated at the northern end of the granite rock in which they are all located close together. It faces the north, while all the rest face the east. The face of the rock at this point takes a turn to the north, so the stone masons had no alternative but to excavate the temple facing the same direction. It is a very small temple, plain and severe in style and appears to be one of the oldest in the group [Plate XV (*b*)]. It consists of a small plain shrine chamber 5½ feet square and about 6 feet in height containing a black stone linga of the kind already described. In front, hewn out of the rock, is a little open terrace 11½ feet in length and 5½ feet in width. In the centre of the terrace facing the linga is a small stone bull. On each side of the shrine doorway facing the front is a large panel containing a life-size sculptural figure of a doorkeeper leaning on a huge club guarding the entrance. They are typical Pallava figures like those already mentioned and the one on the west side of the entrance is portrayed wearing the horned headdress referred to above. On each side of the doorkeepers is a smaller niche facing the front. One contains a bas-relief figure of Brahma and the other of Vishnu. Both figures are of the four-armed type already mentioned and appear later in style than the doorkeepers, the niches too are badly cut and unsymmetrical giving the work the appearance of being a later addition. Similar figures of Brahma and Vishnu appear on the front wall of the shrine chamber of the Pallava temple known as the Orukal Mandapa at Tirukkalukkunram, and there, too, they have the appearance of having been added to the original temple at a later period. Although these two figures are always portrayed four-armed, the attributes held in the hands are shown without flames of fire, a fact

wearing the horned headdress. In front of the shrine is the usual little roofless terr
also unfinished; it is 13 feet in length and 4 feet in width. As the facade has plenty
length, an attempt has been made to provide additional niches on each side of the doo
keepers. There are two niches on the north and one on the south side, but all are empty
and obviously later additions. The temple contains no inscriptions. [Plate XVIII (a)].

Temple No. 5 is situated immediately above No. 4 and faces the east and is without any proper approach. It appears a trifle later and is more ornamental in style than those just described, but on plan it is similar to the others though provided with a small porch supported by two rock-cut pillars in front. The shrine cell measures about 6 feet square on plan and contains a linga of the usual type. On each side of its entrance is a big doorkeeper leaning on his club. These two figures are in the same style as those already described but better executed. As there is plenty of space between the door-keepers and the ends of the facade, a four-armed image of Brahma appears in a panel on the south and one of Vishnu on the north side of the shrine entrance. The front porch is 15 feet in length and 1½ feet in width; its rock-cut roof being supported on two pillars square in section with cushion-shaped capitals carrying brackets which support the architrave and cornice above. The cornice is decorated with the gable window ornament and below it is a frieze of little dwarfs. The simulated roof line of the facade is decorated with little figures of lions and griffins in pairs, similar to those found in some of the rock-cut temples at Mogalrājapuram near Bezwada. In front is the usual roofless terrace in the centre of which is a small rock-cut bull facing the shrine entrance. The south wall of the terrace has a little figure of Ganēśa and the north wall one of Siva both in small panels like those already described. Cut on the front surface of the cubical portions of both pillars are four short inscriptions concerning which Mr. Krishna Sastri gives the following account :—

(A) *Srī Tribhuvanādityan.*—Evidently the biruda of a Chālukya king.

(B) *Srī Dērlugumtham āchārlu pani lōsiri.*—"This is the work cut by the famous Āchārlu of Dērlugumtham." It is not unlikely that Dērlugumtham is identical with Dhrukamthi mentioned in the inscription relating to the memorial shrine below temple No. 2.

(C) *Dākerami (for Dālarāmu).*—This term often occurs in the Drakshārāma inscriptions as the old name of that place.

(D) *Srī Nāra-narēndrundu.*—"The glorious king Nāra." Presumably, the name of a Chālukya king.

No dates are given and it is not quite clear from inscription (B) whether Achārlu
e sculptor) of Dērlugumtham excavated the entire temple or was merely responsible
the images of Brahma and Vishnu, which have the appearance of being later addi-
s to the original edifice. Mr. Krishna Sastri states that the name Achārlu (with
honorific plural termination) given to the sculptors in these records shows clearly
reat veneration in which they were held at the time. The term āsari used to-day
attribute of the artisan class is due to the defective Tamil pronunciation of the
it word Achārya. It shows that the "dignity of labour" was better appreciated
e early times than it is in India to-day. [Plate XVIII (a)].

alphabet of the time of Mahēndravarman I recording the name *Srī Brahmīsvaravishnu, i.e.*, the shrine of Brahma, Isvara and Vishnu but the last syllable *nu* and the following letters have been erased and in their place we have another inscription of a later period recording that the temple was made by Chāmāchāri of Dhīrukamthi. The imposture is very visible and there is no doubt that this man has defaced a very beautiful Pallava inscription by appropriating to himself the merit of the work. Indeed, the name of the shrine is written in very carefully traced Pallava characters, but after the name of Vish(nu), the letters of the inscription are rough, badly engraved and in Chālukya style of alphabet. Moreover, according to the original Pallava inscription, the shrine was dedicated to the Hindu Trinity, Brahma, Siva and Vishnu, and we know that the Mandagappattu temple was dedicated to these three deities, but Chāmāchāri makes the new text read as if the shrine was dedicated to the dual god *Brahmisvara* in place of the Trinity, which is another proof that the dedication of the shrine by Chāmāchāri is a forgery. So the inscriptions and the sculptures agree concerning the fact that the temples at Bhairavakonda were begun by the Pallavas in the reign of Mahēndravarman I and finished in the time of the Chālukyas." It is therefore clear that the earlier examples at Bhairavakonda were begun about 600 to 610 A. D. in the reign of Mahēndra and the work interrupted by the Chālukya invasion.

Temple No. 3 is similar to No. 2 both on plan and in design and faces the east. The shrine cell is about 5 feet square on plan, and contains a small linga of the usual kind. The shrine doorway is guarded by two life-size doorkeepers leaning on huge clubs and the one on the north side has the horned headdress mentioned above. In front is a small terrace 9½ feet in length and 6 feet in width and is without the stone bull facing the entrance. Like No. 2 the facade is fully occupied by the doorway and the two big doorkeepers on each side of it, so there is no room for any additional panels containing figures of Brahma and Vishnu as we find in No. 1. It is strange that these smaller four armed images of Brahma and Vishnu only appear in these old Siva temples when the facade happens to be wide enough to accommodate them. This seems to indicate that they really are later additions as suggested above, otherwise, the sculptors would have surely designed the original temple with sufficient space on each side of the entrance to accommodate these two figures. The rock-cut side walls of the roofless terrace contain two little niches or panels, one on each side and facing each other. The one on the north side contains a little cross-legged figure of the kind already described and the other a figure of Ganēsa, both of which are probably later additions. The overhanging projecting rock above the facade and the outer edge of the terrace floor are provided with socket holes for wooden pillars and beams to support a thatched roof. The temple contains no inscriptions. [Plate XVII].

Temple No. 4 faces the east and is in the same early style as Nos. 1, 2 and 3, but inferior in workmanship and unfinished. The small rock-cut shrine cell measures only about 4½ feet square and contains a small black stone linga. Carved on the back wall of the cell, immediately behind the linga and facing the east is a large bas-relief representation of the head of Siva with three faces. It is probably a later addition. The doorkeepers are inferior in workmanship but appear to belong to the same early period as those already described and the one on the north side of the entrance is portrayed

wearing the horned headdress. In front of the shrine is the usual little roofless terrace also unfinished, it is 13 feet in length and 4 feet in width As the facade has plenty of length, an attempt has been made to provide additional niches on each side of the door-keepers. There are two niches on the north and one on the south side, but all are empty and obviously later additions. The temple contains no inscriptions [Plate XVIII (*a*)].

Temple No. 5 is situated immediately above No 4 and faces the east and is without any proper approach It appears a trifle later and is more ornamental in style than those just described, but on plan it is similar to the others though provided with a small porch supported by two rock-cut pillars in front. The shrine cell measures about 6 feet square on plan and contains a linga of the usual type On each side of the entrance is a big doorkeeper leaning on his club These two figures are in the same style as those already described but better executed As there is plenty of space between the door-keepers and the ends of the facade, a four armed image of Brahma appears in a panel on the south and one of Vishnu on the north side of the shrine entrance. The little porch is 15 feet in length and 4½ feet in width its rock-cut roof being supported on two pillars, square in section with cushion-shaped capitals carrying brackets which support the architrave and cornice above The cornice is decorated with the gable window ornament and below it is a frieze of little dwarfs The simulated roof line of the facade is decorated with little figures of lions and griffins in pairs, similar to those found in some of the rock-cut temples at Mogalrājapuram near Bezwada In front is the usual roofless terrace in the centre of which is a small rock-cut bull facing the shrine entrance. The south wall of the terrace has a little figure of Ganēsa and the north wall one of Siva both in small panels like those already described. Cut on the front surface of the cubical portions of both pillars are four short inscriptions concerning which Mr Krishna Sastri gives the following account .—

(*A*) *Sri Tribhuvanādityan.*—Evidently the biruda of a Chālukya king.

(*B*) *Srī Dērlugumtham āchārlu pani kōsiri.*—" This is the work cut by the famous Āchārlu of Dērlugumtham." It is not unlikely that Dērlugumtham is identical with Dhirukamthi mentioned in the inscription relating to the memorial shrine below temple No. 2.

(*C*) *Dākerami* (*for Dākarēmi*).—This term often occurs in the Draksharama inscriptions as the old name of that place

(*D*) *Srī Nāra-narēndrundu.*—" The glorious king Nāra.' Presumably, the name of a Chālukya king.

No dates are given and it is not quite clear from inscription (*B*) whether Āchārlu (the sculptor) of Dērlugumtham excavated the entire temple or was merely responsible for the images of Brahma and Vishnu, which have the appearance of being later additions to the original edifice Mr. Krishna Sastri states that the name Achārlu (with the honorific plural termination) given to the sculptors in these records, shows clearly the great veneration in which they were held at the time. The term *āsāri* used to-day as an attribute of the artisan class is due to the defective Tamil pronunciation of the Sanskrit word Achārya. It shows that the " dignity of labour " was better appreciated in those early times than it is in India to-day. [Plate XVIII (*a*)].

Temple No. 6 faces the east and is similar on plan to No. 5. The shrine cell is about 5 feet square and contains a linga of the usual kind. On each side of the entrance is a large figure of a doorkeeper leaning on a club, the one on the north side wearing the horned headdress already referred to. The porch is 12½ feet in length and 3½ feet in width; so, as there is plenty of room for additional figures, we find a four-armed bas-relief image of Brahma on the south and Vishnu on the north side of the entrance. The figure of Brahma is smaller than the one of Vishnu and the base of the former is higher than that of the latter, giving the figures an unsymmetrical appearance as though they were an after-thought, and introduced after the original design had been executed. The cornice of the facade is damaged and unfinished and is without the gable ornament but below it is a frieze of little dwarfs. Two square pillars with bracket capitals decorated with conventional lions support the architrave spanning the facade. In front is a small open rock-cut terrace and the usual panels containing little figures of Ganēsa and Siva, respectively, and engraved on the north wall of the terrace above the little figure of Siva is an inscription the meaning of which is unintelligible. Cut in the outer portion of the rock separating this temple from No. 7, is a niche apparently a memorial shrine, containing a little rock-cut linga similar to those already mentioned. [Plate XIX (*b*)].

Temple No. 7 is the best finished and most ornamental temple in the group and appears to be a century or so later than Nos. 1 to 4 and bears a striking resemblance to some of the rock-cut monuments at the Seven Pagodas. On plan it is similar to the one just described and has a small shrine cell 5½ feet square containing a linga of the usual kind and a porch 15 feet in length and 5 feet in width, supported in front by two rock-cut pillars. On each side of the entrance is a big doorkeeper resting on a club; these figures are life size, well executed, and the one on the north side is portrayed wearing the horned headdress while the one on the south side wears a curious flat turban and short locks unlike any of the other doorkeepers here or those found in Pallava monuments elsewhere. On the south side of the facade is an image of Brahma and on the north one of Vishnu. These two figures are similar to those already described, but in this case they appear to be part of the original design as there is nothing about them to indicate that they are later additions like some of the others mentioned above. The facade is quite ornamental and in a good state of preservation. The curved projecting cornice is decorated with four little horseshoe-shaped gabled windows and a frieze of fat little dwarfs below it. The simulated roof line above the cornice is ornamented with three horizontal bands extending the entire length of the facade, a feature which we find in the facades of the Pallava temples at Dalavānūr, Pallāvaram and Mogalrājapuram. Three pairs of little lions and griffins in the act of attacking each other are portrayed along the top of the cornice which is similar in style to the one adorning temple No. 5 and is also found at Mogalrājapuram. The little window openings of the simulated gables are each filled with the head of a five-hooded nāgā figure with a human face portrayed peering through the opening. Supporting the architrave and ornamental cornice of the porch are two rock-cut pillars with big lion basses, square shafts, and cushion-shaped capitals carrying brackets decorated in front with conventional lions in a squatting attitude and very ugly to look upon. The central portion of the shaft is decorated with a pretty beaded festoon design often met with in Pallava monuments. The shaft of the pillar rests

on the head and neck of the big squatting lion that forms the base of the pillar. These lions are portrayed with their tails carried upwards and twisted into a spiral like the figure eight and are similar in style to the lion bases adorning the pillars of most of the monuments at the Seven Pagodas. Engraved along the front of the architrave and on the cubical portions of the shafts of the pillars are three short inscriptions. Two record merely the names of two ascetics named Srīsailamuni and Anantajyōti respectively who visited the temple about the 10th century. The third record is as follows — *Srī Karuvadi āchārla kōsina paniyu.* "This is the work cut by the famous Achārlu of Karuvadi". No date is given, but the record seems to indicate that the sculptor claims to be the author of the entire work. In the centre of the open terrace in front of the porch is a small stone bull facing the entrance and little figures of Ganēsa and Siva carved in panels on the north and south walls respectively and which are similar to those already described [Plate XX (*b*)].

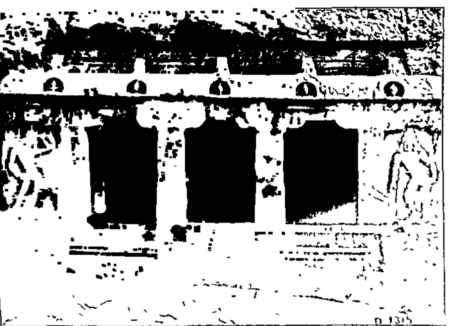
Temple No. 8 is situated next to No. 7 and faces the east. [Plate XIX (*d*)] It is the last one in the group and similar in style and on plan to No. 7. The shrine cell measures about 5 feet square and contains a linga of the usual kind. In front is a pillared porch measuring 12 feet in length and 3½ feet in width The shrine entrance is guarded by life-size figures of doorkeepers of the usual kind, the one on the north side being portrayed wearing the horned headdress mentioned above Bas-relief figures of Brahma and Vishnu of the type already referred to appear on each side of the entrance The style of the cornice is similar to that of No. 7, but it is unfinished and slightly damaged. The little human heads portrayed peering through the gable openings have no nāgā hood as in Nos 7 and 5. Below the cornice is the usual frieze of fat little dwarfs. The two pillars are similar to those belonging to No. 7 already described In front is the usual little terrace with the remains of a bull in the centre facing the entrance, Ganēsa on the south and Siva on the north side similar to those already mentioned. The temple has no inscriptions, but evidently belongs to the same period as No. 7.

The examples of early Pallava monuments given above, which belong to the Mahēndra period, represent all the best examples in this group that are known to us. The later groups of Pallava monuments I shall deal with in subsequent memoirs.

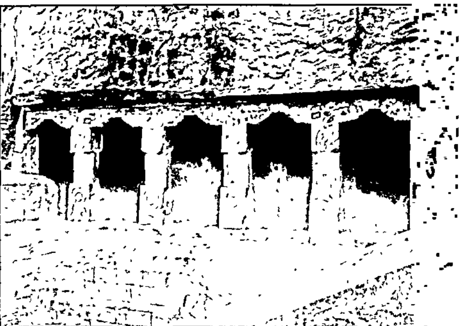
INDEX.



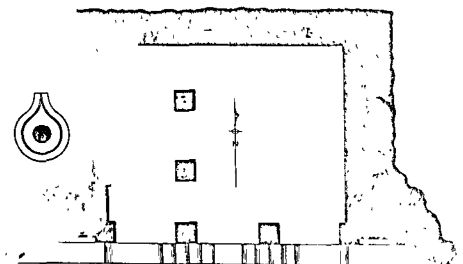
TRICHINOPOLY TEMPLE (DETAIL OF SCULPTURAL REPRESENTATION OF GANGĀDHARA)



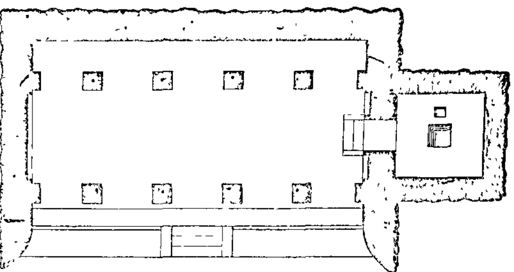
(a) Dalavānūr Temple—Elevation



(b) Trichinopoly Temple—Elevation



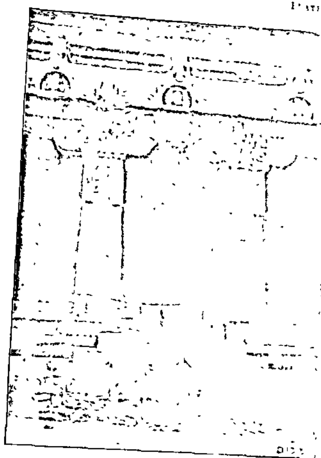
PLAN.



Plan.



(a) DALAVĀNŪR TEMPLE—DETAIL OF DOORKEEPERS



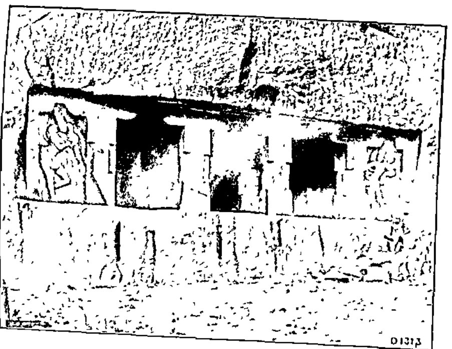
(b) DALAVĀNŪR TEMPLE—DETAIL OF PILLARS AND CORNICE



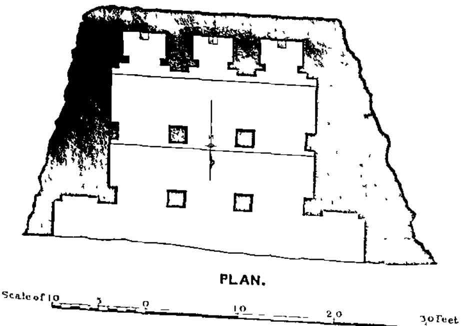
(c) TRICHINOPOLY TEMPLE—DETAIL OF PILLARS

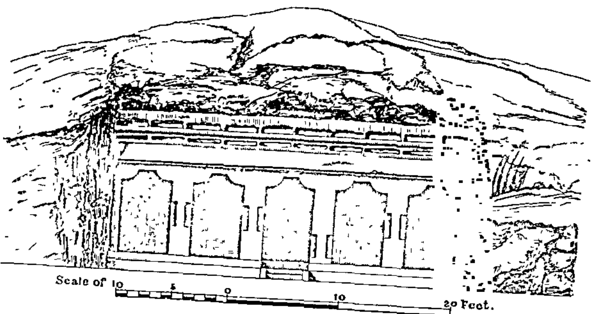


(d) TRICHINOPOLY TEMPLE—DETAIL OF DOORKEEPERS

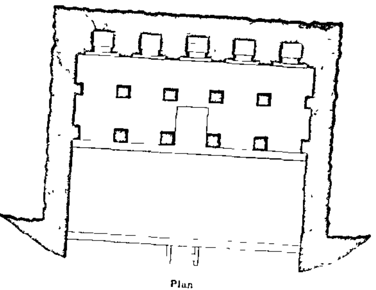


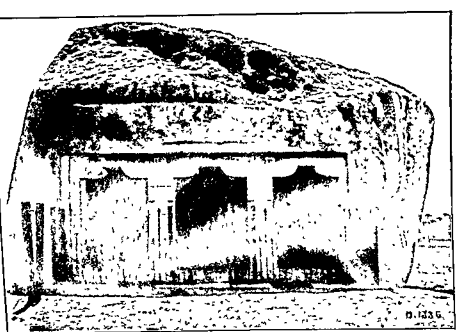
(a) Mandagapattu Temple.—Elevation



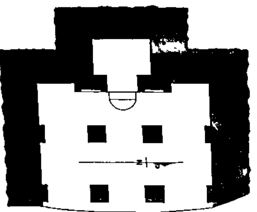


(b) Pallāvaram Temple

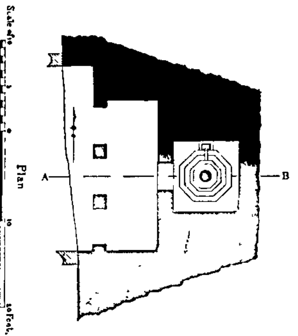




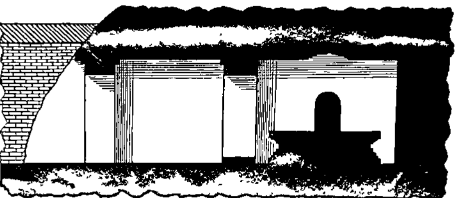
(a) MAHĒNDRAVADI TEMPLE—ELEVATION



(b) MĒLACHĒRI TEMPLE



(c) MAHĒNDRAVADI TEMPLE



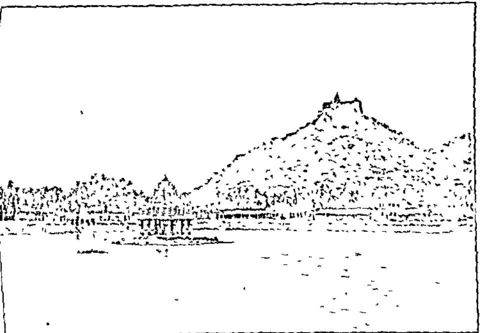
(d) MĒLACHĒRI TEMPLE



(a) VEDAGIRISVARA HILL AT TIRUKKALUKKUNRAM.



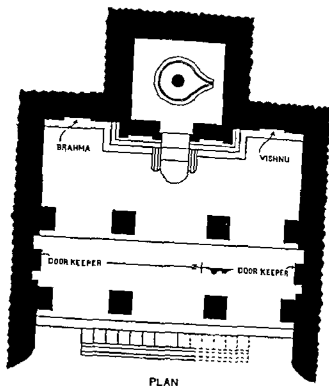
(b) KILMAVILANGAI S. ARCOT DIST.



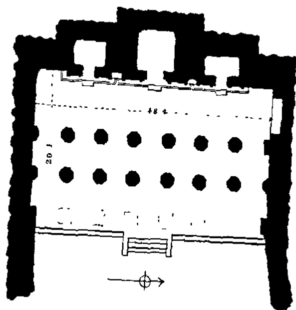
(c) THE ORUKAL MANDAPA AT TIRUKKALUKKUNRAM.



(d) AKKANNA MADANNA TEMPLE AT BEZWADA.



(a) THE ORUKAL MANDAPA AT TIRUKKALUKKUNRAM.

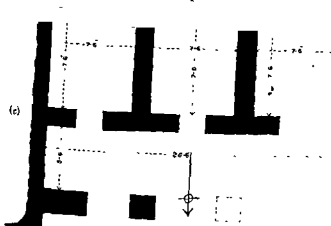


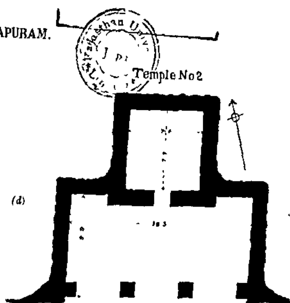
(b) AKKANNA MĀDANNA TEMPLE, BEZWADA

MOGALRAJAPURAM.

Temple No.1

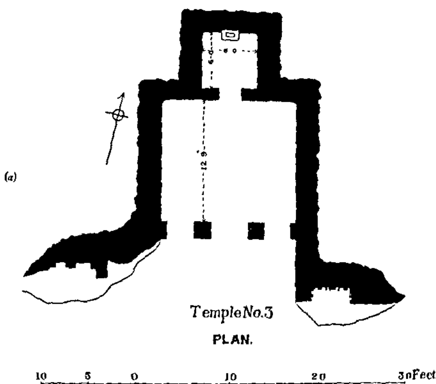
Temple No 2



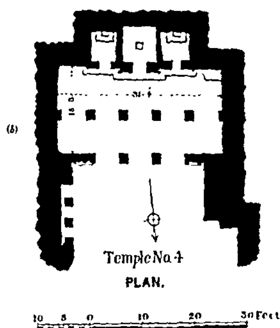


10 5 0 10 20 Feet.

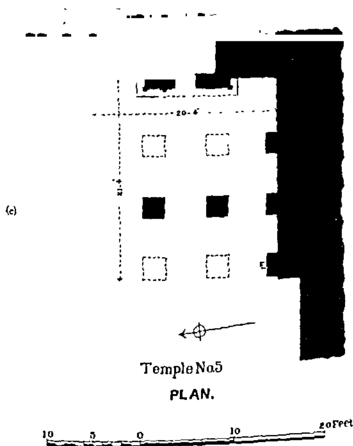
(a)



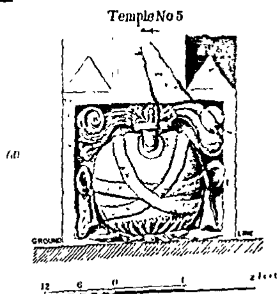
(b)



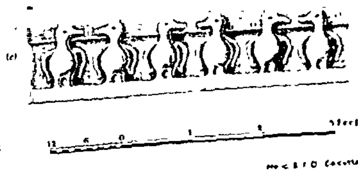
(c)



(d)



(e)



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Photo-Litho S I O Calcutta

(a) MOGALRAJAPURAM TEMPLE NO III

(b) MOGALRAJAPURAM TEMPLE NO IV

1st Storey

Ground Plan

Scale of ft. 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 Feet

3rd Storey

2nd Storey

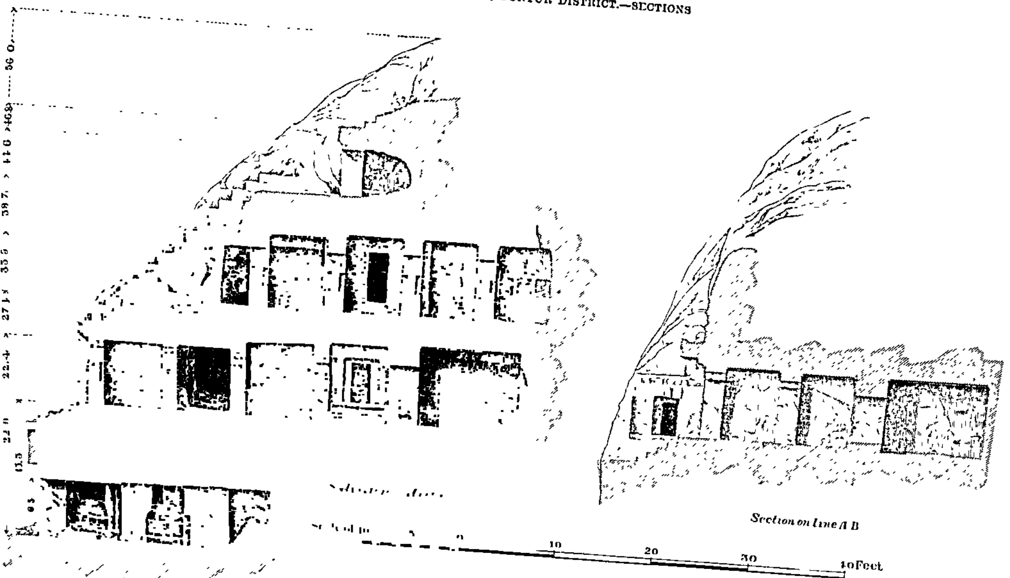
Scale of 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 Feet

Reg. No 2727 E 23

Helio S I O Calcutta.

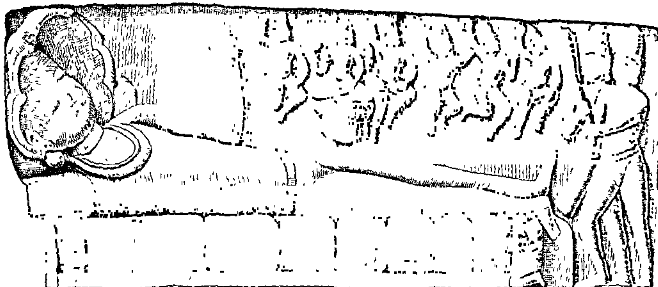
PLATE XI.

UNDAVALLI TEMPLE, GUNTUR DISTRICT.—SECTIONS



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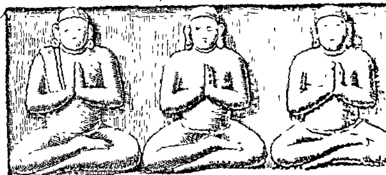


ANANTASAYANA.

Scale of 12 6 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 Feet







VAISHNAVA ALVARS.

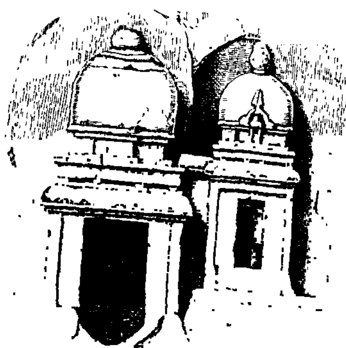


LAKSHMI. VISHNU.

ALVARS.

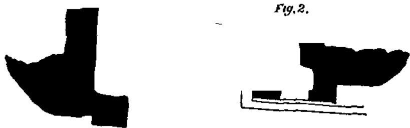
Scale of 12 6 6 3 1 2 3 4 5 Feet

Reg No. 2727 E 23



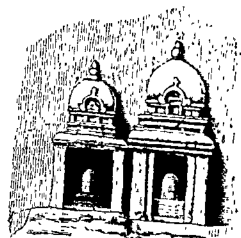
FRONT ELEVATION

Fig. 2.



PLAN

Fig. 3.



FRONT ELEVATION

Fig. 4.



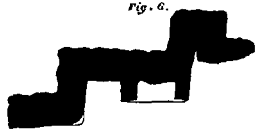
PLAN

Fig. 5.



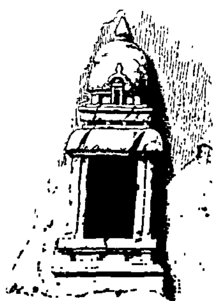
FRONT ELEVATION.

Fig. 6.



PLAN

Fig. 7.

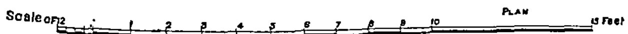


FRONT ELEVATION.

Fig. 8



PLAN



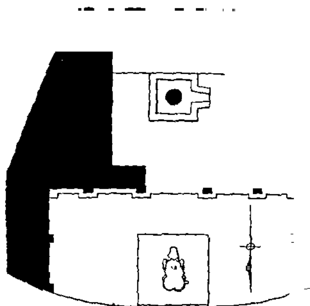
(a) UNDAVALLI ROCK CUT TEMPLE

(b) BHAIRAVAKONDA BHAIRAVA TEMPLE AND SIX ROCK CUT SHRINE CELLS

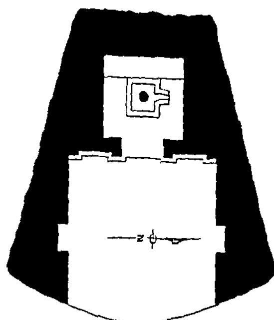
(a) BHAIRAVAKONDA GENERAL VIEW OF TEN ROCK CUT TEMPLES

(b) BHAIRAVAKONDA, TEMPLE NO. I, SHRINE ENTRANCE SHOWING DOORKEEPERS

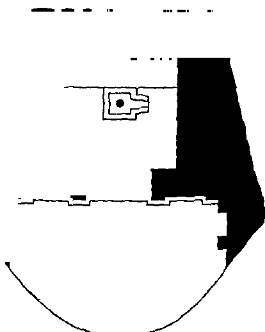
Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta



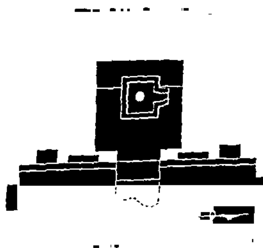
(a) BHAIRAVAKONDA, TEMPLE No. I



(b) BHAIRAVAKONDA, TEMPLE No. II

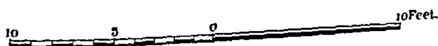


(c) BHAIRAVAKONDA, TEMPLE No. III.



(d) BHAIRAVAKONDA, TEMPLE No. IV.

PLAN.



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PLATE XVII

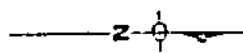
(a) BHAIRAVAKONDA TEMPLE No. III. GENERAL VIEW OF ENTRANCE

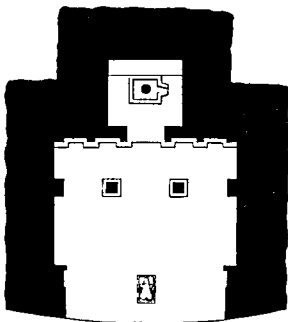
(b) BHAIRAVAKONDA TEMPLE No. III. DETAIL OF DOORKEEPER

PLATE XVIII

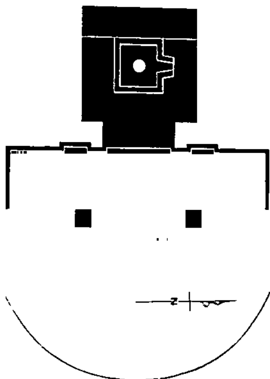
(a) BHAIRAVAKONDA TEMPLE NO. IV (LOWER) AND NO. V (UPPER) GENERAL VIEW

(b) BHAIRAVAKONDA TEMPLE NO. VII DETAIL OF ENTRANCE AND LION PILLARS

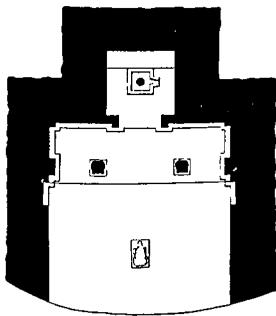




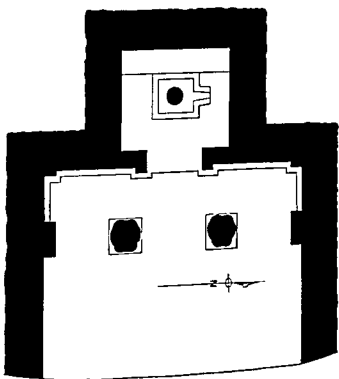
(a) BHAIRAVAKONDA, TEMPLE No V.



(b) BHAIRAVAKONDA, TEMPLE No. VI.



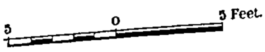
(c) BHAIRAVAKONDA, TEMPLE No. VII.



(d) BHAIRAVAKONDA, TEMPLE No. VIII.

PLAN.





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(a) BHAIRAVAKONDA TEMPLE NO VI GENERAL VIEW

(b) BHAIRAVAKONDA TEMPLE NO VII GENERAL VIEW